*Vol. XXXVIII. No. 151* *September 1949*

# STUDIES

## An Irish Quarterly Review


I. The Law and the Universities ... *Daniel A. Binchy*

II. Comments on the Foregoing Article ... *Michael Tierney*

*George Gavan Duffy · Denis O'Keeffe · Richard O'Sullivan*

III. Douglas Hyde: 1860–1949 ... ... *Gerard Murphy*

IV. Some Recent Impressions of Spain ... *John Murray*

V. Henry of London, Archbishop of Dublin *Aubrey Gwynn*

VI. The Battle of Kinsale, 1601 ... ... *G. A. Hayes-McCoy*

VII. Egypt and its Language Problem ... *A. B. O'Shea*

VIII. Origins of the Royal Irish Academy ... *Charles O'Conor*

IX. Irish Bardic Poems: No. 91 ... ... *Lambert MacKenna*

X. Daniel Doyle and Young Ireland ... *Francis Finegan*

XI. Reviews of Books



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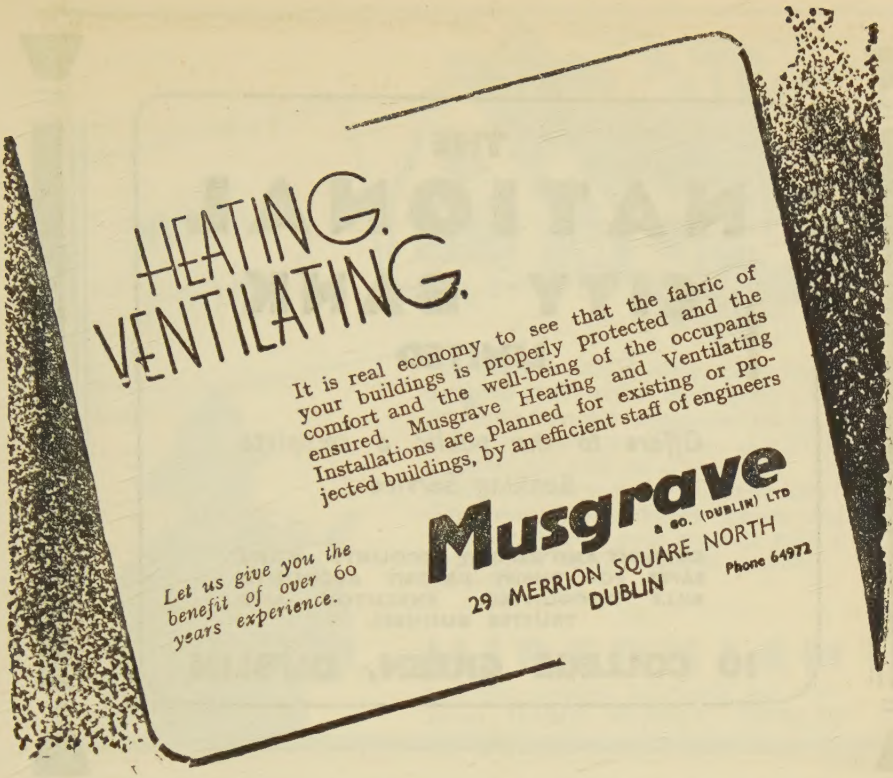
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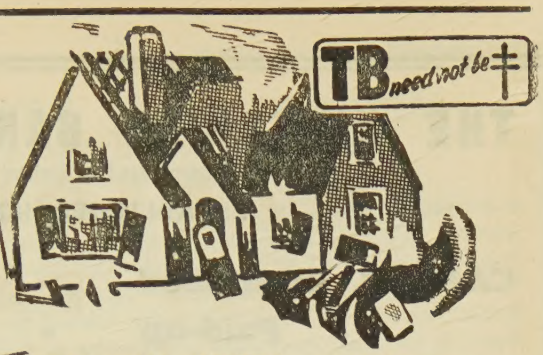


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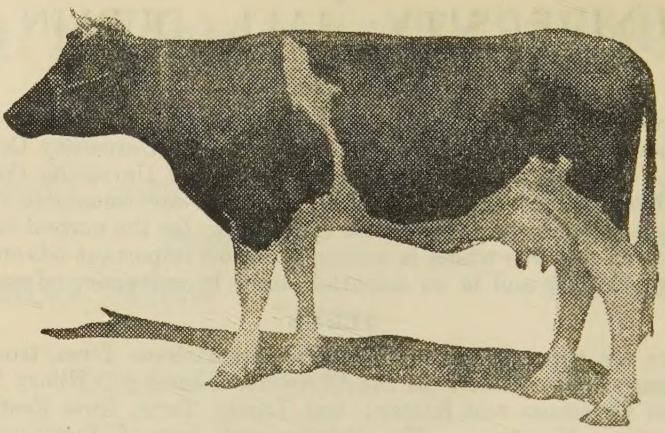

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Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Professor of Jurisprudence and Roman Law, University College, Dublin, 1925—1945

ONE of the few advantages of having been a 'jack of all trades' in the academic world is that it provides a broad-based standard of comparison with which to measure the educational value of particular University courses. Having studied successively classics, law, medieval history and literature, and finally Celtic languages, I feel that this relatively variegated experience, combined with twenty years' teaching in the Faculty of Law of University College, gives me a certain right to criticize the present position of legal studies in the Universities. I would only beg those who may be annoyed by this criticism to believe that at least it is well meant and springs from a genuine interest in the future, not merely of University education, but of the legal profession itself.

In all countries except Britain and Ireland the education of the budding lawyer is left completely in the hands of the Universities. But under our system the Universities play a very subordinate part in his professional course. Admission to either branch of the profession is controlled by two chartered corporations—the Honourable Society of King's Inns for barristers, the Incorporated Law Society for solicitors—each of which prescribes courses, provides lectures, and holds examinations for its students. It is still possible to become a solicitor without ever darkening the doors of a University. And though the present programme of King's Inns lays down that the student shall attend certain University lectures during his first two years, he can still be called to the Bar without taking any University degree.

Let me hasten to say that I am not quarrelling with this system, still less suggesting that it should be changed. Here, as in so many other cases, the English genius for doing the right thing by accident has worked very well. For the control reserved to these quasi-professional bodies has meant, up to recently at least, that a sharp and most salutary distinction was drawn between the lawyer's general education and his professional course. On the Continent this distinction has long been obliterated: the youth fresh from school is inducted into the Faculty of Law, where for four or five years he attends lectures in legal or quasi-legal subjects and nothing else. True, the professional course as taught in the Universities is from an educational standpoint much superior to the curriculum prescribed by the King's Inns or the Incorporated Law Society, for it lays far more stress on the so-called 'academic' subjects like Jurisprudence and Roman Law. Yet the fact remains that even the best programme of this kind is a hopelessly unbalanced diet for the young intellect.

In England and Ireland lawyers were preserved, largely by a fortunate accident, from this narrow formation. The profession could, indeed, be achieved without the University, but in point of fact the vast majority of lawyers did attend the Universities. And here the subjects they studied, the lectures they attended, and the honours they attained were formally quite independent of their professional course. In consequence the more talented students—and the law has always claimed a high proportion of these—won their academic spurs in subjects which had no ' vocational ' significance whatever. To my mind it is certainly no coincidence that a very large percentage of eminent lawyers and judges should have read classics at the University, for I remain convinced that no other course has, or ever could have, the same value as an intellectual discipline. But there were other branches of learning, too, well calculated to broaden the mind and sharpen the wits—philosophy, history, mathematics, economics —and in each of them future ornaments of the Bench and the Bar won distinction.

There is a moral in all this. The English Common Law is almost entirely the creation of the judiciary. In this majestic system, with its unique doctrine of *stare decisis*, the judges have played a much more vital role than in the Roman Law or any of its daughter systems on the Continent. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the success of our ' case law ' is in great part due to the fact that throughout its formative period it was moulded by men with a wide background of general culture, judges who were also ' learned ' in far more important things than the law. The great figures in its history were no narrow professionalists. The ecclesiastical judges of the Middle Ages saw their functions against the wider horizons of philosophy and theology. And their successors since the Reformation have been (up to recently at least) men who were trained at the Universities, not in ' legal science,' but in the classics and the humanities. It was precisely this broad-based intellectual formation that enabled the great judges to avoid the pitfalls of a petty legalism. Unlike the majority of Continental judges, these men brought to their task the wide human sympathies and balanced wisdom which a narrow ' vocational ' training could never have produced. There could be no more triumphant vindication of Newman's views on the relative merits of a ' liberal ' and a ' professional ' education.

During the past fifty years, however, owing to pressure by the prophets of ' specialization ' and ' utility ' (those twin idols on whose altar so much that was precious in our educational system has been sacrificed), *nous avons changé tout cela*. The Universities now provide an Honours B.A. course which permits the student to take his primary Degree in the subjects required for his professional examinations. Note that I speak of a primary Degree. The study of law, with a view to obtaining the Baccalaureate and Doctorate *in utroque iure*, has always held an honoured place in the

University curriculum; but in the past these two legal Degrees were only open to students who had already graduated in Arts. In other words, to become an LL.B. or LL.D. one had first to secure the B.A. Degree in classics or history or any of the other traditional disciplines. Under the new dispensation, however, the student is permitted, to the grievous detriment not merely of his own education but of the great profession to which he aspires, to specialize in legal subjects from the beginning of his academic career.

It is interesting to observe the stages by which this breach was effected. Ironically enough, it was Newman's *alma mater*, the University of Oxford, that first sold the pass. About eighty years ago Oxford established a new Honours School of ' History and Jurisprudence,' doubtless hoping to conciliate the advocates of specialization by a compromise. Needless to say, the compromise was accepted merely as the thin edge of the wedge ; by the turn of the century History had been extruded, and ever since the ' Honours School of Jurisprudence '—with its imposing paraphernalia of lecturers, professors, and tutors—proclaims itself the equal of such famous traditional Schools as Ancient and Modern ' Greats,' History, Philosophy, and Mathematics. It is true, of course, that within the University itself these claims are not taken seriously except by those who have a vested interest in doing so. A study of the academic record of those Oxonians who have risen to eminence in the profession since 1900 shows that the overwhelming majority of them have either by-passed the new Honours School altogether or else have taken it more or less contemptuously in their stride while they concentrated on getting a First in one of the traditional Schools, usually in ' Greats '. But the grim struggle for existence in the post-war world has tempted even the brilliant student to cast about him for time-and-labour-saving devices, with the result that to-day the *opéra bouffe* of the Honours School of Jurisprudence is playing to crowded houses.

Oxford's unfortunate lead was quickly followed by Cambridge (with its ' Law Tripos ') and later by the modern Universities, all of which found a place in their Honours curriculum for a course consisting entirely or mainly of legal subjects. Our own National University—or at least University College, Dublin—attempted to reach a compromise by establishing an Honours B.A. Degree in ' Legal and Political Science,' the programme of which included two non-legal subjects : (*a*) European History or Political Economy, (*b*) Politics. In so far as this course adds a certain amount of ballast to weight the hopelessly light cargo of legal subjects, it represents an improvement upon such educational abortions as the Honours School of Jurisprudence ; it has the further advantage that the student during his first year at the University has to take the wider First Arts curriculum. On the other hand, the fact that in the new National University all the Honours courses started with equal prestige has led

most law students, even the most brilliant—men who, had they been up at Oxford, would not have touched the Honours School of Jurisprudence with a pair of tongs—to take their primary Degree in Legal and Political Science. Since the future leaders of the profession in Ireland will almost inevitably be drawn from University College, we are surely justified in examining the educational value of their academic training.

Long experience of teaching and examining for this Degree has left me profoundly sceptical of its worth as an intellectual discipline. So far as the legal subjects are concerned, only the three with which I deal subsequently—Roman Law, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Law—have any claims to figure in an academic Honours programme. All the so-called ' practical ' subjects which clutter up the course—Contracts, Torts, Real and Personal Property, Evidence, etc.—are of their very nature quite unsuitable instruments for conditioning the youthful mind. I am not in the least impressed by the argument which Oxford law tutors have eloquently (and sometimes angrily) used against my condemnation of these subjects : that everything depends on how they are taught. They have always been well taught in University College, for example, but not even the most stimulating lecturer can make bricks without straw. The subject-matter of his lectures simply does not provide the necessary *instrumentum pedagogicum.*

It is not merely that the range of these subjects is too narrow to give a liberal education, that they tend to restrict rather than to enlarge the student's mental horizon. A still more obvious weakness is that they are primarily exercises in memory, as any one who reads the standard text-books (nearly all of them written by University teachers) will agree. Lists of rules, lists of exceptions, names and facts of leading cases—such things put a premium on mnemonics and do little to cultivate that critical faculty which is no less indispensable to a good lawyer than to a good scholar. Even ' the nice sharp quillets of the law '—the subtleties of a particular *ratio decidendi,* the dexterous art of ' distinguishing ' cases, and similar fine points—can only be appreciated by a mind already formed and matured ; to serve them up as undergraduate fare is rather like introducing a student of the classics to the methods of textual criticism before he has mastered the rudiments of grammar.

Needless to say, the modern law student, like his predecessors, must learn these practical subjects. But let him learn them, again like his predecessors, as part of his professional course. To give them parity with other well-proved educational disciplines—worse still, on the fatuous plea of ' specialization', to include them in an Honours B.A. course—is to debase the whole academic currency.

In Oxford Common Rooms I have often suggested that the best service the University could render to its law students and to the legal profession would be to abolish the Honours School of Jurisprudence.

Any such proposal would, of course, meet with fierce opposition from the powerful vested interests represented by the law tutors and the steadily expanding company of Professors, Readers, and Lecturers. These interests are sufficiently well organized and influential to block a reform which would doubtless involve a decrease in their numbers and status. But that is hardly a reason why we in Ireland—at least in the National University[1]—should continue to copy such a disastrous headline. I submit that the time has come for University College to abandon the Honours B.A. in Legal and Political Science, or rather perhaps to remodel it drastically by jettisoning all the 'practical' subjects and regrouping the remainder round what I believe to be their true centre of gravity. Naturally the University would continue to provide courses in the 'practical' subjects in so far as these are required for professional purposes.[2]

All through the years of my professorship in University College, whenever I was asked for advice on the course to be read by a law student of first-class ability, I invariably replied: 'If he has done Greek and Latin at school, let him read classics. Alternatively let him take the Honours Degree in Mental and Moral Philosophy.' I may add that this advice was very rarely taken. In almost every case the laws of imitation, the spurious 'utilitarian' arguments, and (perhaps most potent of all) the instinct to conserve energy by picking the soft option led the student to enter for the Legal and Political Science group, from which he duly emerged with a First Honour obtained on a minimum of intellectual effort. His good memory carried him safely over most of the course. The more difficult non-legal subjects he could afford to 'scamp' in the confident assurance that the high marks he was bound to secure in the 'practical' subjects would redress the balance. In later years, however, he may have come to realize that such easy triumphs are not the best preparation for success in the profession.

I still hold that either of the groups suggested by me would provide the best training for a really talented law student. The alternative which I now propose is frankly a *pis aller*, a concession to the popular fallacy, so vigorously castigated by Newman, that University education is only 'useful' in so far as it is 'vocational'. It starts from the rather dubious

[1] Trinity College, Dublin is a comparatively recent convert to the virtues of a rigid professionalism. It now offers law students an Honours course in 'Legal Science' which is in most respects a faithful copy of the Honours School of Jurisprudence and has, I should say, about the same educational value.

[2] It is a debatable question whether a Pass B.A. course in law should be established in which all or some of these subjects could be taken. Personally I should be opposed to it. The tendency to regard the Pass B.A. as an etiolated version of the Honours should, I think, be discouraged. It would be better to have a more or less uniform Pass course which would aim at giving a good general education rather than at reproducing the different Honours Schools in paler colours. On the other hand, some of the 'practical' subjects would naturally be included in the LL.B. Degree, which should be open only to graduates who have already taken an Honours B.A. in any of the recognized groups.

assumption that law students should be offered a special Honours B.A. course with a certain ' professional ' colouring. Once this is admitted, we are faced with the thorny problem of devising a course in which the few legal subjects that are of real educational value can be combined with cognate disciplines and integrated in a larger unity.

There are three of these subjects : Roman Law, Constitutional Law, and Jurisprudence. Successful lawyers who refer to them as ' purely academic ' speak more wisely than they know. Of the value of Roman Law, which a great English judge once described as ' the embodiment of juridical wisdom,' it is hardly necessary to speak. The main difficulty about teaching it at the proper level of an Honours Degree subject is that it requires the student to have a sound knowledge of Latin, and indeed—in this age of papyrology—of Greek also[1]. Constitutional Law raises no such linguistic difficulties, but its educational value is much more variable. In general one may say that the more ' professional ' the teacher's approach—the more he is inclined to concentrate on the details of the existing local Constitution—the less valuable does the subject become as a mental discipline. On the other hand, to hear it expounded (as it is expounded, for example, by the great French masters of the subject) against its proper background of history and political theory is a most stimulating experience for any student.

Lastly there is Jurisprudence, the lynch-pin of all higher legal studies. The true function of this subject is to provide a *trait d'union* between the profession of law and the philosophical and ethical principles from which alone legal systems derive their ultimate validity. Nothing has had more disastrous consequence for positive law itself than the attempt to divorce it from absolute moral standards. Indeed, unless lawyers and legislators return to the classical and Christian concept of a positive law whose ultimate sanction lies not in a command by the State but in its conformity to a transcendental idea of justice, nothing can avert the onward march of totalitarianism. Hence the vital importance of a thorough training in Jurisprudence.

Not, I hasten to add, in the caricature of the subject that is taught in most English Universities. English jurisprudence, as its representatives tell us with disarming *naiveté*, is *sui generis*. Fortunately they are right. For if we had no more substantial fare to offer our students than this tenuous *Ersatz*, the subject would not be worth including in any Honours curriculum. John Austin, the founder of the English school of Juris-

[1] Like Jurisprudence, Roman Law has suffered heavily through being taught exclusively in association with a group of ' professional ' subjects. If it could be brought into closer contact with the classical Degree (perhaps as an optional subject), the standard would undoubtedly be raised. To-day in some of the English provincial Universities it is expounded by teachers with ' small Latin and less Greek ' to students who are equally ignorant of both. I still preserve a letter from an Extern Examiner protesting against my practice of setting passages from the Institutes of Justinian in the B.A. Honours paper on the ground that ' this gives an unfair advantage to candidates who know Latin ' !

prudence[1], knew little about history and less about philosophy; but those who take the trouble to compare his works with the more modern text-books will come away with a higher opinion of him than of his successors. At least Austin had the courage of his convictions, and carried the utilitarian Positivism which was his nearest approach to philosophy to its logical conclusions. Even his famous definition of 'the epithet "just"'—viz. 'that a particular action is in accordance with a particular legal rule'—flows naturally from his 'imperative' theory, the rock on which his church was built. His successors, while taking over his Positivism, shrink from its consequences and tend increasingly to eschew all philosophical problems—in other words to present *Hamlet* without the Prince. As a distinguished French jurist remarked to me, their text-books contain much valuable information about the art of law and virtually nothing about the science of law. He might equally well have said that Jurisprudence as taught in England to-day has been degraded to the level of the other 'professional' and 'practical' subjects.[2]

This dehydrated type of Jurisprudence has its defenders. The genius of the Common Law, they argue, is essentially empirical; the structure has been raised brick by brick, unlike the Roman Law and its modern successors on the Continent which work rather by applying general principles to the details of practice. Hence the student of English law would be well advised to cultivate the average Englishman's distrust of abstract ideas and take the legal system as he finds it without indulging in speculation about the origin, the nature, and the end of positive law. The half-truth which this argument contains is more dangerous than any falsehood. Certainly the system of precedents does encourage the empirical method in elaborating particular rules, but the great architects of the system were anything but empiricists in their general philosophy of law. On the contrary they unhesitatingly affirmed the existence of absolute truth and absolute justice, by which every legal rule must be measured. The traditional theory of the Natural Law was asserted as firmly by Blackstone and Lord Mansfield as by their mediaeval predecessors Bracton and St. German. All of them were equally convinced that the legal system they helped to fashion was not an independent constellation but a planet travelling in the wake of a star.

It was this 'larger faith' that made the Common Law at once the most

[1] The claims of Jeremy Bentham to this dubious honour have been strongly reinforced by the recent discovery of a further work by him on the subject. But Austin is the ancestor who is still officially worshipped.

[2] On the other hand, in the American law schools, which have been influenced by Continental (particularly German) models, the 'philosophy of law' is almost too vigorously cultivated. The resulting babel of tongues, which (as usual in America) is rendered even more strident by a noisy 'lunatic fringe,' is somewhat bewildering, but even this rude vitality is a refreshing contrast to the pernicious anaemia with which English Jurisprudence is afflicted. At the same time one cannot help feeling that most American works on the philosophy of law would have gained considerably if their writers had condescended to learn a little philosophy first.

Christian and the freest system known to history. Of late, however, there have been ominous signs in England that both of these characteristics are being quietly undermined.[1] Perhaps after all the English are not quite so impervious to 'abstract ideas' as they imagine, and a century of Positivist Jurisprudence in the Universities is at last beginning to bear fruit in the decisions of the Courts. Whatever be the explanation, these symptoms should sound a warning to us in Ireland; *iam proximus ardet Ucalegon*. All the more reason, then, why we should strive to preserve in its traditional integrity the most precious legacy that has been bequeathed to us from the centuries of British rule.

We shall only succeed if our professional lawyers (and our legislators) are equipped with a sound theory of law on which to base their approach to concrete problems. Hence the importance of Jurisprudence as an element in their formation. I suggest that it should be taught for two years in the new Honours B.A. course and, if possible, entrusted to a full-time Professor who has been trained in philosophy as well as law. The use of English text-books should be reduced to proper proportions. They have their value for analytical Jurisprudence; for historical Jurisprudence they are of little use, for philosophical Jurisprudence quite worthless.[2] In this last field, at once the most difficult and the most rewarding, the teacher must plough his own furrow; whatever help he receives will come from the Continent, not from Britain. The theory of law in the classical and Christian tradition—from Plato and Aristotle, through the Roman jurists and the mediaeval Schoolmen, down to the neo-Scholastic philosophers of our own day—would probably form the basis of his lectures. But I would have him find time also for other schools which, despite important points of difference, agree in rejecting Positivism as the negation, not merely of philosophy, but of law itself. His students should hear something, for example, of the great jurist François Gény, who, beginning as a disciple of Bergson, eventually found himself driven —almost *malgré lui*—to accept most of the scholastic theory; or of that still more remarkable character Léon Duguit, who, having set out to banish 'metaphysics' from the study of law, arrives by what he chooses to call purely 'factual observation' at conclusions virtually identical with those of St. Thomas; or of the Italian Jewish scholar Giorgio del Vecchio, who, though ostensibly a follower of Hegel, has emerged as one of the sturdiest defenders of natural law in the traditional sense. Taught on these or similar lines, Jurisprudence would surely have every right to figure in a University Honours programme.

[1] These tendencies have been exposed and trenchantly criticized by eminent lawyers like Sir Henry Slesser and Mr. Richard O'Sullivan, K.C. Cf. also the two admirable collections of essays published by the Thomas More Society, *The King's Good Servant* and *Under God and the Law*.

[2] One work by a German refugee scholar, W. Friedmann's *Legal Theory*, should perhaps be regarded as an exception. But quite apart from its unreadable style the book has certain grave weaknesses.

Yet something more is needed to round off the picture, to integrate these subjects in a larger unity. Ever since legal theory has become the virtual monopoly of jurists with little or no knowledge of general philosophy, there has been a catastrophic tendency to regard Jurisprudence as a self-contained and self-sufficing science. The shallow Positivism which conceives of law as something completely autonomous and unshackled has fixed an arbitrary gulf between Jurisprudence and Ethics. To dissipate this error, to restore the traditional harmony between law and morality, it is necessary that the student should become acquainted with the wider horizons of moral philosophy, of which Jurisprudence is merely a special department. Hence, in addition to the existing one-year course in Politics, he should take a two-years course in Ethics as the ' major subject ' of the proposed Honours Degree. Only thus can the ' science of law ' be set in its true perspective. As most students will already have taken an introductory course in Philosophy and Formal Logic during their first year at the University, they will then bring to their profession the advantages of a mind well trained in ' the great mother of the sciences '.

Two years of Ethics and Jurisprudence, one year of Roman Law, Politics, and Constitutional Law[1]—such is the course of study I would suggest for those law students who seek an Honours B.A. Degree from the University and are either unable or unwilling to take it in one of the traditional groups, such as classics or philosophy. Educationally it is, in my belief, inferior to either of these groups. But at least it avoids the worst evils of the ' professional ' Degree by confronting the candidate with a selection of subjects which will at once test his abilities, broaden his mental horizon, and stimulate his critical faculties. To those successful men of affairs who ask what practical help a course of this kind can give to the future lawyer, I need only reply in Newman's words :

> The man who has learned to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyse, who has refined his taste and formed his judgement and sharpened his mental vision, will not indeed at once be a lawyer, or a pleader, or an orator, or a statesman, or a physician ; but he will be placed in that state of intellect in which he can take up any one of the sciences I have referred to . . . . with an ease, a grace, a versatility, and a success, to which another is a stranger.

But there is something even more important than grace, versatility, and success, something that can best be summed up in Menander's line : *'αναφαίρετον κτῆμ' ἐστὶ παιδεία βροτοῖς*. And education of the type suggested here will indeed be a lasting possession to him who has received it, a possession which nothing—not even the daily round of professional routine, the cobwebs of the office or the dust of the forum—can ever take away.

D. A. Binchy

[1]Some might wish to include the history of English law, but this subject is more suitable for the LL.B. course.

# Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. I.—BY DR. MICHAEL TIERNEY
President, University College, Dublin

DR. BINCHY'S criticism of our system of legal education is timely, for it typifies a new and healthier attitude towards the " twin idols " of specialisation and utility which has been making itself felt with increasing force since the war. His suggested reforms are timely also, in a rather different sense : they have just been anticipated, at least in a partial and experimental way, by the joint Faculties of Arts and Law in University College, Dublin, as may be seen from the Arts Syllabus for 1949-50. " Anticipated " is perhaps too strong a word ; the reforms announced in the Syllabus owe a great deal to the condemnations of the so-called " practical " legal subjects, as components of an Arts course, of which Dr. Binchy has been as unsparing in Dublin as in Oxford.

A whole treatise could be written to show how much legal training, in common with almost all other branches of higher education, has suffered by the widespread acceptance of doctrines already condemned by Newman a hundred years ago. It will be remembered how he prophesied that the " ideal systems of education which have fascinated the imagination of this age " might well eventuate in " a generation frivolous, narrow-minded and resourceless ". Two great wars and the threat of a materialist world-empire have at last induced perhaps a majority of the leaders of educational thought to question the principles in obedience to which they have been leading mankind to the edge of the precipice. To us, looking back from our narrow foothold between one convulsion and another, Newman's time seems unbelievably tranquil ; and we find it hard to apprehend the urgency, for that time, of his plea for order, integrity, a rational hierarchy of discipline and knowledge. The question now is not whether reform is possible but whether, even if possible, it may not come too late.

Dr. Binchy does well to make it clear at the outset how profoundly different are the systems of legal education in England and Ireland from those in force on the Continent and even in the United States. Though the link between Law and the University goes back to the great school of Bologna and even further to the joint origin of the profession and of higher education in the teaching of the Sophists, in England it has always been a looser link than elsewhere. This is due to the greater strength, in England and in this particular profession, of the " gild " principle. Elsewhere the Law became a science, to be assimilated by theoretical study. In England and Ireland it has been looked upon rather as an art, to be learned by apprenticeship through practice.

The nineteenth-century cult of specialism brought evils of one kind with it on the Continent, where practice tended to be eaten up by an ever-narrowing theory. It might well be argued that the collapse of Germany in our own time is History's verdict on Wilhelm von Humboldt. Evils

of an opposite kind were inherent in the English cult of utility. From this point of view a man like Lloyd George is an instructive foil to men like Bethmann-Hollweg and Hertling. Just as in Germany theory divorced from practice produced the *Gelehrte* helpless before the militarist, so in England practice without theory produced the clever politician ignorant of geography. In Law, as Dr. Binchy points out, the situation was for a long time saved in England by the traditional insistence on a general education before apprenticeship. The tradition was already failing at the turn of the century, when the German extreme was forcibly joined to the English one and specialisation took its place as an object of worship beside utility.

This unnatural union inevitably produced a misshapen progeny, the common characteristic of which was an attempt of practice to disguise itself as theory. In Platonic terms, *empeiria* tried to masquerade as *phronêsis*, very much as Socrates found it doing in the case of Gorgias and other Sophists. The result was the production of a whole series of false sciences, which figure on pretty well every University curriculum at the present day. In the case of Law it was to elevate the knowledge which can only be acquired by apprenticeship to the same status as the knowledge which partakes of theory. Gradually this perversion, which amounted to a reaction behind the wisdom of the great Greek masters towards the skill in knack-like activities of the Sophists, corrupted what survived of theoretical study in the Schools. As Dr. Binchy points out, Jurisprudence, Roman Law and Constitutional Law were gradually reduced to mere memory-work.

The process was completed when subjects like the Law of Property and the Law of Evidence were introduced into the Arts course as a preparation for full legal studies. The Honours School of Legal and Political Science which was thus instituted made an effort to " weight " the lighter legal subjects by a ballast of History, Politics, and Political Economy taken in various combinations. Once more, however, the leaven of the " practical " subjects was soon too powerful to be resisted by structures themselves capable of a certain lightness. For years the examiners in the non-legal courses have had to wage a losing fight against an inevitable tendency to award easy honours. Partly owing to Dr. Binchy's reiterated protests and partly to a universal conviction that this School could no longer stand as an equal beside other Honours Schools, the beginnings of a reform were made last spring. Henceforth it will not be possible to take Honours in the B.A. degree in Constitutional Law, International Law, the Law of Property or Common Law. The Law student who wishes to obtain an Honours degree in Arts can do so only in one of two Honours Schools, one of which combines Politics, Roman Law and Jurisprudence as minor subjects with History as a major, the other with Economics as a major.

I have suggested that, from Dr. Binchy's point of view, this reform is no better than partial. The new Honours Schools will still be much lighter in quantity and weaker in quality than his suggestion of two years of Ethics and Jurisprudence and one of Roman Law, Politics and Constitutional Law. They will indeed make only the minimum provision for that philosophical foundation which is so much to be desired. Furthermore, as a corollary to this reform of the Honours Schools, a new Pass course has been introduced to permit of the B.A. degree being obtained in Politics, Jurisprudence, Roman Law, International Law, Constitutional Law, Law of Property and Common Law. Dr. Binchy, to my mind rightly, doubts the wisdom of such a course, in which specialisation at a low level is inevitable and which gives a large place to the practical subjects. It is, however, in all probability an essential transition stage to the situation he desires, where there would be a more uniform Pass course aiming at a reasonable general education for all students.

There is one aspect of his proposals on which I should like to make a final comment. One reason, and an important one, for the deficiencies to which he draws attention is the fact that most Professors of Law are part-time. The salaries which University College at least can afford have rarely been such as to induce any man to abandon the practice of a remunerative profession and devote himself wholly to the kind of scholarship that must be looked for in a full-time Professor of, say, Jurisprudence. If the endowment were available, there would be comparatively little difficulty about providing the Honours courses in the great theoretical legal subjects which are essential if we are ever to have a real School of Law in Dublin. Perhaps Dr. Binchy's article, as well as pointing the way to much-needed reforms, will also arouse attention to the need for much greater endowments as their indispensable preliminary.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

### NO. 2.—BY THE HON. MR. JUSTICE GEORGE GAVAN DUFFY

President of the High Court

DR. BINCHY'S vigorous article is most refreshing and opportune. He asserts the paramount duty of building our law upon the Christian foundation; he then insists on the outstanding value of the humanities in the formation of a lawyer; and impliedly he fastens on the universities the high responsibility for taking a decisive lead in planning the way to fashion men of law who will do credit to Ireland. So far I cordially concur; but, when he goes on to point the way, I hesitate to follow him and wonder if his way is the best.

I think one of the saddest revelations of our recent testing-time has

been the mediocrity of the standards of Irish life generally, due to the blurred background of the citizen; and the universities have a big part to play in giving him a vivid background and a proper pride. Moreover, whether the school or the home or both deserve the blame, one has the uneasy impression that too many alumni flock to college while still too raw to benefit; and some such optimists, I fear, have now and then contrived to make their way into the legal profession.

We have not yet begun to review the conditions of admission to the privileged ranks of our counsellors-at-law. It is time to begin. We want students of talent, and personally I favour an early introduction of the talented student to the realm of law, because he is entering an unknown territory, which he must find so strange, with an atmosphere so esoteric, that he can penetrate the enclave only by slow and laborious stages.

Highly as I value Dr. Binchy's learned guidance, I cannot accept two of his postulates; I do not share all his enthusiasm for a common law that crystallized in an era when worship of the latifundian nobility combined with the obsession of a rigid formalism to cramp the development of traditional law; and, with great respect for your contributor, I am persuaded that those 'practical' law subjects "which clutter up the course" are brimful of interest to stimulate the adolescent mind, when treated by such masters as a Holmes or a Wigmore, a Cheshire, a Winfield or a Hanbury.

My approach to the problem of recruiting the Bar would be different. I should like to see a bold, new departure on the following lines:—

(1) Unitary direction for the training of students and their admission to the Bar, under a new statutory Committee representing the National University and Trinity College, the Benchers of the King's Inns and the Bar Council, with the Attorney-General as chairman.

(2) A degree in Law from either university (without any primary B.A. degree) to be made essential for admission to the Bar; the degree to be obtainable after a five years' course in a faculty of Law under distinguished and full-time professors; it is hardly too much to say that everything depends on the quality of the professors. Belfast too to be welcomed, so long as the Committee is satisfied with its curriculum for a corresponding Law degree. Only students with the prescribed knowledge of Irish and of Latin to be accepted; Greek I omit, because it is so little taught in our schools that one cannot now insist upon it.

(3) The Committee, whose members would all probably be graduates, to be authorised in its absolute discretion to settle the syllabus, determine sequences and allocate times and to decide where to draw the line between the pass and the honours men. I presume ethics and logic would be compulsory for everyone; I hope the law course would include the classics and literature and give special attention to jurisprudence and to

psychology and extend to psychiatry (for criminal practice). In the legal sphere the trend of our Supreme Court decisions over 25 years deserves examination, the vital and complex law of evidence ought to get its due, and I think the codes of local government and public health, covering work of growing importance throughout the country, should repay the time they would demand.

(4) Students in their second year to pass a broad test of proficiency, the inapt being set free to pursue a more congenial line in the wake of our merchant princes or as permanent civil servants.

(5) The mature student, after taking his degree in Law, to spend one year in a solicitor's office before his admission to the Bar, in order to get a glimmering of the practical problems and to make very practical contacts.

Incidentally, I have long thought that the Institute of Advanced Studies should have a school of jurisprudence, comparative law and cognate subjects, open to the élite among the students of law.

The plan outlined would be confined to the Bar, so long as the present dichotomy persists; space does not allow me to say anything about admission to the solicitors' branch of the profession.

I admit that a man may become a skilful cross-examiner with a light educational equipment, but my concern is for the standing of the Bar; I want to secure men of adequate intellectual calibre and trained minds. I feel strongly that we ought to restrict admission to the Bar by raising the standard and making admission a distinction to be coveted. In a country where the law has not been cherished by the people as its own, we must establish the Rule of Law firmly, now that the law is under our own control; and to that end we ought to take every precaution to raise our status in a traditionally critical public mind in order to secure the universal respect and confidence of the community for the law.

GEORGE GAVAN DUFFY

NO. 3.—BY VERY REV. DENIS CANON O'KEEFFE, M.A.
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THE editor of *Studies* has asked me to make some comment on Dr. Binchy's article. I do so with great diffidence. I can claim no competence in "professional" legal subjects and my agreement with Dr. Binchy, that they do not furnish an adequate vehicle for the discipline and culture which a student should expect to get from a university training, will add, I fear, no weight to his conclusions. Any claim which I could have to express an opinion on legal studies rests on the fact that, many of the

best and some of the worst, law students have in the past twenty-five years attended my lectures on Politics. This has given me opportunities of studying these students in comparison with students of Philosophy, History and Economics—many of whom also attend this course. That on the average—there are of course notable exceptions—law students are inferior to students attending these other courses is obvious and at first surprising. One could not, however, conclude from this *alone* that the courses for the degree in *Legal and Political Science* are inferior to those in other groups. The preliminary education of many law students is very imperfect. Some of them have not passed the Matriculation or apparently any equivalent examination and are not capable of pursuing university studies with much profit. It happens often enough that students who have no intention of pursuing a legal career are keen, for one reason or another, on being called to the bar. The decision to make all law students attend university courses is nevertheless an excellent one. Students learn a great deal from one another. But, allowing for this, it is at least arguable that more care is necessary to ensure that students are capable of following university lectures with the necessary minimum of understanding. No doubt there are reasons, with which I am unfamiliar, why students who would not be qualified to attend any other professional course, such as medicine or engineering, are encouraged to become "learned in the law". But I must not pursue this—"non nostrum tantas componere lites".

Dr. Binchy is more concerned with the genuine university student who is capable of following the recognized courses. The opinion that the best university training for a lawyer is to be got in Classics or Philosophy is probably a sound one. And some students are still wise enough to follow it. But, in urging it, Dr. Binchy himself feels that he is fighting a losing battle. "Modern" courses are now established in all universities, and it has become impossible to swim against the stream—to resist *quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* in favour of the older traditional studies—*quod semper*. It is true that we have not as yet adopted the fantastic groups of subjects favoured by some American universities, but it is certain that we can never revive the old traditions. We must learn to be satisfied with the second best. Dr. Binchy is willing, as a *pis aller*, to suggest a possible Honours Course specially adapted to law students. A committee in University College, Dublin, has recently been considering this problem. Its conclusions differ from the course suggested by Dr. Binchy chiefly in suggesting History or Economics as the main subjects in such a course—with greater emphasis also on Politics. In many ways I personally prefer Dr. Binchy's suggested course. It would have the advantage—Dr. Binchy himself thinks it in some ways a disadvantage—of preserving a specific legal degree. This might help in obviating the danger of a decay of legal learning which, in a small country like Ireland, is for many reasons urgent.

There are, however, difficulties in making Ethics the main subject in such a course. It is impossible to pursue ethical studies satisfactorily apart from an adequate knowledge certainly of Metaphysics and possibly also of Psychology. Such an honours degree would inevitably tend to become almost identical with an honours course in Philosophy and might, with the addition of Jurisprudence, Roman Law and Constitutional Law, be too heavily weighted. These difficulties are not insuperable, and no doubt the tendency to temper the wind to the shorn lamb has been carried too far. Still it would probably be unwise not to make more allowance for the weakness of human nature than any hard-hearted *Gelehrter* is inclined to do. And we cannot altogether ignore the fact that students will gravitate in the directions in which soft options are still available.

D. O'KEEFFE

NO. 4.—BY RICHARD O'SULLIVAN, K.C.

LET me at once confess my incompetence to comment adequately on the important article by Dr. Binchy on Law and the Universities. For, though a member of the English Bar, I have in fact no University degree. In the year 1906-7, indeed, I might have had for the asking a Nutting Scholarship at Trinity College, Dublin; but the dissuasion of the Irish Bishops made me seek a livelihood in London, where (after some delay and without ecclesiastical disapproval) I became a student at London University and at the Inns of Court. Having passed the Bar Final just before the outbreak of war in 1914, I abandoned University studies and served four years in the Artillery.

Speaking then as a mere practitioner in the Common Law, one of 'the most unlearned race of learned men', I should like to express my general agreement with the argument of Dr. Binchy and to support his plea for a restoration of the classical and Christian tradition in legal education. Like him, I am persuaded that the Common Law, which is the only great system of temporal law that came out of the Christian centuries and which Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes has declared to be "a far more developed more rational and mightier body of law than the Roman", is a precious inheritance that can be saved only by men who have been trained in the living tradition of Christian jurisprudence.

On the final page of their great History of the English Law Pollock and Maitland say of the period between Henry II and Edward I: "It was a critical moment in English legal history and therefore in the innermost history of our land and race . . . Those few men who were gathered at Westminster round Patteshull and Raleigh and Bracton, were penning writs that would run in the name of kingless commonwealths on the other shore of the Atlantic Ocean; they were making right and wrong for us

and for our children ". Each of the men who is named on this last page was a prelate of the Christian church. Elsewhere the same authorities say: " It is by popish clergymen that our Common Law is converted from a rude mass of customs into an articulate system; and when the popish clergymen, yielding to the Pope's commands, no longer sit as the principal justices of the King's Court, the creative age of our medieval law is over ". And they add: " English law, more especially the English law of civil procedure, was rationalized under the influence of the Canon Law."

From the 14th to the 17th century, the Inns of Court in London were ' the University and Church Militant of the Common Law '. After he had been recalled from Oxford by his father, Thomas More was educated at the Inns of Court. In his letter to Faber, Erasmus says of him: ' Natus est Londini, in qua civitate multo omnium celeberrima natum et educatum esse apud Anglos nonnulla nobilitatis pars habetur '.

Though a certain obscurity surrounds the methods of education in the Inns of Court, it is clear that the course of studies included not only logic, but also philosophy and theology. The Serjeants, the leaders of the profession, were sworn to give counsel " according to law, that is to say, the law of God, the law of reason (or of nature), and the law of the land ". Early in the reign of Elizabeth Sir Thomas Smith exclaimed upon the skill in disputation shown by the students of the law in London: " Etiam cum quid e philosophia theologiave depromptum in quaestione ponatur, Deus bone! quam apte, quamque explicate singula resumunt, quanta cum facilitate et copia, quanta cum gratia et venustate vel confirmunt sua vel refellunt aliena ". In the 17th century Sir Henry Finch gave in his *Nomotechnica* " un description del common ley d'Angleterre selonque les rules de l'art ". Beginning with an examination of the law of nature and the law of reason, he declares that the rules of reason are of two sorts: some are taken from ' foreign ' learning; the rest are proper to the law: " Of the first sort are the principles and sound conclusions, out of the best and the very bowels of divinity, grammar, logic; also from philosophy, natural, political, economic, moral, though in our Reports and Year Books they do not come under the same terms. Yet the things we find are the same, for the sparks of all the sciences in the world are raked up in the ashes of the law ".

Unhappily the Law Schools of London, already shaken by the Reformation, were unable to withstand the second shock of the Revolution. Before the end of the 17th century, the Law Schools of the Inns of Court were closed and remained closed until the middle of the 19th century.

In that condition of things, towards the middle of the 18th century, the Common Law of England came to be taught for the first time at Oxford and at Cambridge. The tradition of medieval philosophy (which was its proper philosophy, as we know from the writings of Bracton and

Fortescue and Littleton and Thomas More and Christopher St. German and from the long record of the Year Books) had already perished at the old Universities. The teaching of Canon Law, with its background of Christian jurisprudence, had been forbidden by Henry VIII. Before the end of the 18th century, the old foundations of the Common Law in the law of God and the law of nature had been undermined by the new and still orthodox doctrine of the Omnipotence of Parliament. Thus, in 1935, before a Joint Select Committee of both Houses, Mr. Wilfrid Greene, K.C. (now Lord Greene), illustrating the virtue of Omnipotence, stated in argument that Parliament " could pass an Act tomorrow that all persons over the age of one year should be put to death ". In the year 1946 Sir Hartley Shawcross, K.C., M.P., Attorney General said : " Parliament is sovereign ; it can make any laws. It could ordain that all blue-eyed babies shall be destroyed at birth ". Already in the 18th century the example of Herod had been invoked by Christian in his edition of Blackstone's Commentaries as an illustration of Omnipotence. The doctrine was derived by a kind of induction from the legislation of Henry VIII : a Parliament which could depose the Pope and empower the King to define the articles of the Christian Faith to be held, under penalty of death, by all his subjects must surely be Omnipotent.[1]

The effect of this evil doctrine of the Omnipotence of Parliament and of a long century of jurisprudence according to the thought of Hobbes and of Austin and of Bentham (whom Newman nominated ' a disgrace ') has been to undermine the Christian jurisprudence of the Common Law and to alarm great judges like Lord Macmillan, who views " with some dismay " the process whereby the customary Common Law of the land is being more and more superseded by a system of Statutes and Statutory Instruments (save the mark !) which " have no regard for the usages and customs of the people, but are dictated by ideological theories " that deprive men of the initiative and independence " which were the nation's most valuable assets ".

In England, where the Christian tradition is rapidly fading away, there seems little hope of an early restoration of the classical and Christian tradition of jurisprudence. In all the Universities of the land there is not to be found a Faculty or a Chair or even a Lectureship in Christian theology or philosophy or jurisprudence. An exile must hope that in this matter Ireland may take the lead and, by a re-arrangement of legal studies on the lines suggested by Dr. Binchy, help to save for all the English-speaking peoples the traditions of Christian law and the principles of Christian freedom.

RICHARD O'SULLIVAN

[1] The doctrine of the Omnipotence of the *soi-disant* Imperial Parliament was challenged, in Ireland, by Patrick D'Arcy in 1641, and by Molyneux and Swift and Grattan and the rest ; and in America (on the same grounds) by the makers of the American Revolution.

# DOUGLAS HYDE

1860—1949

BY GERARD MURPHY
Professor of the History of Celtic Literature, University College, Dublin

THOSE who did not know Douglas Hyde intimately have always thought of him as a great man. And they are right. Those who knew him intimately loved him, but in his lifetime they tended to smile at his weaknesses rather than to admire his greatness. Only now that he is dead are they too beginning to realize how great he really was. Hyde's mastery of Irish idiom may indeed have seemed poor when compared with that of Canon Peter O'Leary. His scholarship may have left much to be desired. His poetry may have lapsed frequently into bathos. His little ruses and evasions may have contrasted unfavourably with the outspokenness of a John Dillon or an Arthur Griffith. But he had a vision of something great which was a personal discovery of his own. He had the power too of communicating that vision to others. And his life-long fidelity to that vision was such that, long before he died, what was once personal to himself had become the common property of all his countrymen and changed the national outlook in a way that would have seemed incredible in the late eighties of the last century.

How did Hyde come to have that vision? Only the material circumstances can be known to us. He was born in a district where it was not difficult to learn Irish. Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon, where his father was Protestant rector, is on the Mayo border, near Ballaghaderreen. The Hydes had come there from Castle Hyde, Co. Cork, where they had settled as planters from England in the Elizabethan period. In 1860, when Douglas Hyde was born, the country people around Frenchpark still used Irish as the language of everyday life. Not alone in his early childhood, then, could Hyde have learnt Irish by listening to the servants in his father's house, but by an accident it was brought about that that contact with Irish-speakers was to be continued longer than would otherwise have been the case. An outbreak of measles caused him to be taken home from Dublin after some weeks' residence in the first and only school he was to attend. Henceforward his father gave him his formal education, while from gamekeepers, servants, and the farmers over whose lands he shot or fished he absorbed more and more of that oral Gaelic tradition, the love of which he was later to communicate to so many.

When Douglas Hyde came to Trinity College, Dublin, he was perhaps unique in that college in his love for Irish. Many stories are told of the surprise his knowledge of the language caused.

His Latin pronunciation was different from that of his professors and

the other students. It was insisted that he must have learned his Latin on the continent. "No," answered Hyde; "but I have modelled my pronunciation of it on that of Irish" [1]

"You do know a lot of languages, Hyde," a fellow-student remarked to him: "How many do you know? English, German, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and French, I suppose?"

"Yes," answered Hyde, "and I can read Italian. But the language I know best is Irish."

"Irish!" exclaimed the fellow-student in astonishment; "do you know Irish?"

"Yes," said Hyde quietly; "I dream in Irish." [2]

Before Hyde's day there had been societies for the publication of Irish literature preserved from the past, but they were societies for men of letters rather than for the ordinary Irishman. In 1877, some years before Hyde entered Trinity College, a society more popular in its appeal had been founded. It became known as the *Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language*. Hyde joined it and, when about the year 1880 it split into two sections, he followed the more vigorous seceding section which called itself the *Gaelic Union*. Though the *Gaelic Union* organized no popular nation-wide movement such as was to come later from the *Gaelic League*, doubtless the bulk of its members would have agreed with Hyde's views on the value of the living Gaelic culture of the west, which in those days he was already expressing more eloquently than any of his colleagues.

I do not think it would be for the advantage of our race to let our language die (he wrote, while still a member of the Gaelic Union). I affirm without hesitation that those who continue to speak their own language are in every way the intellectual, and generally the moral, superiors of those who have allowed it to die out. When a locality has allowed Irish to die out, the people lose nearly all those distinctive characteristics which make them so lovable and so courteous. I have verified this over and over again and feel sure I am asserting the truth . . .

If by ceasing to speak Irish our peasantry could learn to appreciate Shakespeare and Milton, to study Wordsworth and Tennyson, then, indeed, we might let it go without any very acute pang. But this is not the case. We lay aside a language which for all ordinary purposes of everyday life is more pointed and forcible than any with which I am acquainted, and we replace it by another which we learn badly and speak with an atrocious accent, interlarding it with barbarisms and vulgarity.

The language of the western Gael is the language best suited to his surroundings; it corresponds best to his topography, his nomenclature, his organs of speech; and the use of it guarantees the remembrance of his own weird and beautiful traditions. Around the blazing bog-fire, of a winter's night, Dermod O'Duibhne of the Love Spot, Finn with his coat of hairy skin, Conán the Thersites of the Fenians, the old blind giant Essheen (Ossian), the speckled bull with the movable

[1] Article by Professor Alf Sommerfelt published in the Norwegian *Aftenbladet* some days after Hyde's death.

[2] Diarmid O Cobhthaigh, *Douglas Hyde* (1917), p. 11.

horn, the enchanted cat of Rathcroghan, and all the other wild and poetic offspring of the bardic imagination pass in review before us. Every hill, every *lios*, every crag, and gnarled tree, and lonely valley has its own strange and graceful legend attached to it, the product of the Hibernian Celt in its truest and purest type, not to be improved on by change, and of infinite worth in moulding the race type, of immeasurable value in forming its character. But with the loss of the Irish language all this is lost.

The native Irish deal in sententious proverbs perhaps more than any other nation in Europe ; their *repertoire* of apothegms is enormous. It is a characteristic which is lost in their change of language and, consequently, has not been observed or noticed. Let their language die, and not one of their proverbs will remain. Of the hundreds of stereotyped sayings and acute aphorisms which I have heard aptly introduced upon occasions where Irish was spoken, I cannot say that I have heard five survive in an English dress where the language has been lost. And if this is the case with aphorisms and sayings, much more does it hold good of the songs, the legends, and the heroic cycle of stories. I believe, for example, that the character of the people is no longer the same in the east of the county Leitrim and in the county Longford, where Irish died out a generation or two ago. There Dermod of the Love Spot is unknown, Finn Mac Cool is barely remembered as a ' giant ', Ossian is never heard of, the ancient memories have ceased to cling to the various objects of nature ; the halo of romance, the exquisite and dreamy film which hangs over the Mayo mountains has been blown away by the blast of the most realistic materialism ; and the people, when they gather into one another's houses in the evening for a *cailee* (*céilídhe*—a night-visit), can talk of nothing but the latest scandal, or the price Tim Rooney got for his calf, or the calving of Paddy Sweeny's cow.

The bulk of Hyde's friends in the Gaelic Union would probably have accepted those paragraphs, when they first appeared, as a statement of fact. When he reprinted them in 1889 in his *Leabhar Sgeulaigheachta* Hyde supplemented them, however, with a call for action.

I do not think there is much to add to what I have said here, except to observe that it is a national duty—I had almost said a moral one—for all those who speak Irish to speak it to their children also and to take care that the growing generation shall know it as well as themselves : and in general, that it is the duty of all Irish-speakers to use their own language amongst themselves and on all possible occasions, except where it will not run. For, if we allow one of the finest and richest languages in Europe, which fifty years ago was spoken by nearly four millions of Irishmen, to die out without a struggle, it will be an everlasting disgrace and a blighting stigma upon our nationality.

Already by the year 1889, then, Hyde was not content with the mere vision of the truth, nor even with formulating his vision more eloquently than others. He was eager also to stimulate his fellow-countrymen to action. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a little later that men who had become as convinced of the need for action as he was himself should feel themselves attracted to him.

In 1891, after a short absence in Canada, where he had held for a year the chair of Modern Languages in the University of New Brunswick, Hyde married Miss Lucy Kurtz and settled permanently in Ireland.

About this time John MacNeill, then a young civil servant in the Four Courts, had begun to study Irish seriously. His studies brought him into contact with others who shared his interests, and they used to discuss the possibility of starting a national movement to save the Irish language from extinction. In the summer of 1893 this little group of enthusiasts got into touch with Hyde, and as a result of their meeting the *Gaelic League* was formed. Hyde was made its President, and MacNeill its secretary.

" The object of this Society is to keep the Irish language spoken in Ireland " is the first of the printed rules of the Gaelic League, and the second says : " No matter of religious or political difference of opinion shall be admitted into the proceedings of this Society."

The rapid growth of the Gaelic League astonished the people of Ireland. In the early years of the twentieth century it had its branches in every town and village of the country. In the Irish-speaking districts classes composed of people of all ages were being taught to read the language they already spoke, and in the English-speaking districts people of all ages were being taught both how to speak and read it. The League published books, papers, and pamphlets, in which folktales, folk poetry, songs, and modern manuscript literature were collected and disseminated. All shades of Nationalist political opinion were represented in its ranks, and even Unionists were to be found who gave it their support.

Hyde during this period lived principally at Ratra, near Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon, with his wife and his two daughters ; but when the need arose he was ready to travel to any part of Ireland or England, to address meetings, settle disputes, give advice, seek guidance, remove opposition. His popularity and influence were at their highest in 1906 after he had toured the United States, where he inspired huge meetings of Irish exiles to enthusiasm and collected £11,000 to finance the League's activities. The freedom of the cities of Dublin, Cork, and Kilkenny was bestowed on him in 1906. In the same year he was made a member of the Royal Commission on Irish University Education. In 1908-9 Hyde led the popular movement which resulted in Irish being made compulsory as a subject for Matriculation in the recently founded National University of Ireland, and in the same year the freedom of the city of Limerick was bestowed on him.

Hyde was appointed in 1909 to be the first holder of the chair of Modern Irish in University College, Dublin, the largest of the National University's three constituent colleges. For several years after his appointment to this chair Hyde continued to act as president of the Gaelic League. About the sixth year of his professorship, however, it was becoming clear to all that the League was abandoning its early non-political attitude. Its most active members sympathized with the extreme sections of Irish Nationalist politics, represented by Arthur Griffith's

*Sinn Féin* party and the closely connected Irish Volunteers, who were headed by John MacNeill. Hyde had seen the League's official organs used for the propagation of Volunteer doctrine. A little later, what he had always regarded as a fundamental rule of the Gaelic League was changed in spite of his definitely expressed opposition. This was the original second rule of the Society. In 1913 that rule read " Connradh na Gaedhilge shall be strictly non-political and non-sectarian ". This was a mere re-wording of the rule's original form. In 1915, however, it was altered to " Connradh na Gaedhilge shall be strictly non-political and non-sectarian, and shall devote itself to realising the ideal of a *free* Gaelic-speaking Ireland". Immediately after the *Ard-fheis*, the governing body of the League, had passed the rule in its new form, Hyde resigned the presidency.

He himself was indeed a nationalist. But his real interest was hardly in politics ; and from the beginning it was his firm conviction that, the League's aim being cultural, the introduction of politics into it could only hinder its essential activity. MacNeill, on the other hand, who had a real interest in politics, " was convinced ", writes Father John Ryan (*Studies*, 1945, p. 440), " that in the crisis through which the country was then passing everything should be subordinated to the national interest ; but he came afterwards to believe, and humbly to confess, that he had acted unwisely, and had helped in doing his beloved League a great, perhaps irreparable, wrong".

Though Hyde remained a friend of the Gaelic League even after he had resigned the presidency, he ceased thenceforward to take a public part in its activities. Therefore those who, like the present writer, first met Hyde after matriculation in the National University, about the year 1918, were to know him, not as the public speaker and propagandist capable of inspiring enthusiasm in crowds, but as the genial professor beloved by all, though frowned upon by some of his colleagues for not exacting a high standard of learning or accuracy from those who presented themselves for degrees. " We must not be purists ", he would say, when it was pointed out that a student mixed his dialects and was careless about the rules of aspiration, eclipsis, and grammar in general. " Keep them amused " was his advice to a young assistant anxious to receive guidance as to how to conduct his classes.

Serious candidates for the degree in the faculty of Celtic Studies were therefore inclined to specialize in the older phases of their subject, where they were trained by scholars of the calibre of John MacNeill and Osborn Bergin, who had both been prominent with Hyde in the Gaelic League movement. But few even among those students would have denied that it was Hyde who, directly or indirectly, had awakened their interest in Irish. As schoolboys some of them would have come across his collections of folktales, his *Love-songs of Connacht*, his *Religious Songs of Connacht*,

or his *Literary History of Ireland*, and realized that in Gaelic-speaking Ireland a treasure was to be found, close to them not alone in place and time, but also by heredity, a treasure which would be for ever beyond their reach if they did not learn Irish. They would know too that, if it were not for Hyde and his colleagues in the Gaelic League, the means of learning Irish in the schools would not have been at their disposal. While Hyde's kindliness and charm of manner won their affection, this knowledge of what he had done for the preservation of something precious that might have been lost ensured their respect and admiration.

In 1932 Douglas Hyde, having reached the retiring age, vacated the chair which he had held since 1909. During his tenure of that chair he had added considerably to the number of his publications from Irish oral and manuscript tradition which had already won him fame, and from 1926 to 1932 he had edited a journal of Modern Irish studies for the University under the title *Lia Fáil*. Since 1890 Hyde had been a member of the Royal Irish Academy. He had been president of the Irish Texts Society from its foundation. He was treasurer of the Folklore of Ireland Society from its foundation till in 1939 he became its Patron. In 1906 an honorary Doctorate of Literature had been conferred on him by the Royal University of Ireland, and this was followed in 1927 and 1933 by similar doctorates from the University of Wales and Trinity College, Dublin. Hyde was a member of the Senate of his country for two brief periods after the winning of independence; and in 1938, by agreement between all the political parties, he was made the first President of Ireland under the terms of the new Constitution. This appointment was a public mark of recognition of the fact that Hyde's lifework was deemed to have been of national importance.

When his seven years' period of office was completed, Hyde retired to a lodge in the Phoenix Park, which he renamed Ratra after the Roscommon home which friends and admirers had purchased and presented to him on his return from America in 1906. His wife had died in 1938, having lived just long enough to see him honoured with the highest title in the gift of the nation. He himself died on July 12th, 1949.

So single-minded a follower of a great ideal, one who exerted such influence on so many, could only be treated of adequately in a large biography written after long research. The history of Sinn Féin, the history of the Irish Volunteers, and the history of the Anglo-Irish literary renaissance would of necessity be outlined in that biography. The history of Gaelic scholarship in Ireland would be even more closely connected with it: our greatest authority on Old Irish wrote to Hyde about the year 1896 to thank him for a testimonial which had helped him to obtain an appointment as lecturer in Irish in Queen's College, Cork: *Is maith is cuimhin liom*, he said in that letter—*Is maith is cuimhin liom roinnt bliadhanta ó shin tuarasgbháil ar leabhar ded leabhraibh-se d'fheicsin dam,*

*agus gan focal Gaedhilge fán am sain agam. Sin é, is dócha, an chéad ní do bhrostaigh mé chum na Gaedhilge d'fhoghlaim agus do ghrádhughadh thar aon teangaidh eile dá labharthar nó dár labhradh riamh san domhan mór. Dá bhrígh sin, is tusa fé ndeara dham bheith mar atáim anois, tré chúis dhírigh agus tré chúis imchéin.*[1] That avowal of Dr. Bergin's that it was probably Hyde's writings which had first inspired him to devote his life to the study of Irish could doubtless have been made by the majority of Gaelic scholars in Ireland during the past fifty years. It would be difficult, however, for his biographer to decide whether in essentials Hyde's lifework has met with success or with failure. Irish is now indeed in evidence everywhere in Ireland: on public signboards; in printed parliamentary reports; in schools; in the windows of bookshops; in newspapers and periodicals. Nevertheless the living Gaelic culture which the League was founded to preserve has steadily receded, and the Irish-speakers to whom Hyde addressed his early appeals have on the whole neglected his advice to speak Irish to their children and to take care that the growing generation should know it as well as themselves. On the other hand the Irish nation as a political whole, and successive Irish governments, have shown themselves anxious to ensure the continuance of Gaelic culture and to enable all Irishmen to study it and derive benefit from it. Were it not for Hyde it might well be that they would still be as heedless of the beauty of that culture as their forefathers were in the days of Daniel O'Connell.

GERARD MURPHY

[1] Dubhghlas De Híde, *Mise agus an Connradh*, p. 175.

# SOME RECENT IMPRESSIONS OF SPAIN

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

I ENTERED Spain by the frontier town of Port Bou during the morning. For more than two hours the train had been leisurely cruising, halting at one small station after another and passing, with no pretence of speed, through the wooded and smiling countryside between Narbonne and Perpignan, where Spanish elements are blended with the French. And this after swift night travel down from Paris by way of Central France and Toulouse, when the high-hoisted railway carriages had swayed and swung behind the unrestrained engine-power of a French *rapide*—sure symbol of France's recovery from the strains and ravages of war.

## I

Where France meets Spain, customs formalities are long-drawn and, in theory, formidable ; at times they are formidable in actual fact, chiefly for Frenchmen leaving their country or for Spaniards attempting to return to theirs. The train is halted on French soil for three quarters of an hour at Port Vendres. Customs and currency officials patrol it, their main and maybe their sole concern lest any traveller take with him more than four thousand francs in French currency. Three quarters of an hour would seem more than an ample allowance for twenty officials to discover whether any of the fifty or sixty travellers is infringing this particular regulation ; yet apparently it is all too short a spell to prevent French money taking a holiday abroad. Smuggling here has developed into a fine art and a profitable business.

Ten minutes more in the train, while it crosses a No Man's Land from the last French station to the first in Spain. Arrived there, you descend. This you would have to do in any case, even were you the highest personality in either land. For the Spanish railways have the wide gauge, as have the railway systems of Russia and the Argentine. This wide gauge must be one of the few things which modern Spain and Soviet Russia enjoy in common. And as for the Argentine—that is another story, though curiously enough it has to do with Russia. The earliest railway in Argentina was laid by a British company and by British engineers. The time in question was immediately after the Crimean War. Britain had on her hands several miles of railway track fitted with the wide gauge, plus at least one railway engine and a number of coaches. These had been specially constructed for service in the Crimea, but the war came to an end before they could be put to use. Nothing daunted, British engineers had them transported to the River Plate, and with them was laid the first stretch of railway in the Argentine—a small section of seven

miles, which ran from the Plaza Lavalle in the heart of Buenos Aires to the suburb of Flores. That first and now historic engine, christened *La Portena*, is preserved in the national museum at Lujan, a city some thirty-five miles away from the Argentine capital and the seat of the famous pilgrimage church of Our Lady, that might be not inaptly termed the Lourdes of Argentina.

But to return to Port Bou, our Spanish frontier town. You hand in your passport through one *guichet* and you wait in patience till your name is called out—or some Hispanic transmogrification of the same—and then you advance to receive it again from a second *guichet*. Behind these *guichets* may be glimpsed row upon row of card-index boxes, containing presumably the names and descriptions of unwanted entrants. Hundreds of thousands of Spaniards are still abroad who would not be permitted rightly or wrongly—I suspect that each adjective is, in its turn, operative—to return to Spain. You are given a form to fill in, declaring just how much money you have with you in notes and travellers' cheques. Incidentally, the authorities have paid the foreign visitor a great courtesy in establishing at the frontier station an office in which travellers' cheques from a wide range of countries, Great Britain among them, may be cashed —no small consideration, since the tourist rate of exchange against such cheques is roughly one hundred to the pound sterling, whereas the official and highly artificial exchange would give you for the pound only between forty-four and forty-five pesetas. Customs officers will not bother you unduly, if they bother you at all, provided you are friendly and polite. Politeness is an auxiliary passport everywhere in Spain, and it is frequently of greater usefulness than the legal document issued from Queen Anne's Gate. Finally your passport—the legal one this time—will be stamped two or three times more. I could not discover quite why; but never mind, it was all done with a courteous flourish.

These ceremonies ended, we mounted a Spanish train. It would be easy but quite unfair to draw comparisons between railway services in Spain and France. Unfair, because France is in receipt of financial aid from the United States. Unfair, because Spain, backward in past tradition and short of material resources, has no such assistance. Spain has to fend for herself, and nowhere are her problems more acute than in transport. Rolling stock is out-of-date and insufficient. The coal available is inferior and it produces a swirling acrid smoke which, when the train moves through tunnels as on the run from Barcelona to Madrid, seeps into the coaches, however tightly fastened be the windows, darkens the carriage and almost asphyxiates the occupants. This shortage of stock and fuel means that few trains can be run. There are nearly as many between London and Edinburgh in one day as between Barcelona and Madrid during the week. The trains are invariably crowded; one does not realize what a crowded train looks like till one has been in Spain.

On the night runs from Madrid to Barcelona or to San Sebastian and the reverse coaches and corridors are so compactly wedged with passengers that, once in position, you must literally stay put till your journey's end. It is indeed a wonder that the railways function so reasonably well under such adverse conditions. One of Spain's first needs, if and when she receives a substantial loan from abroad, will be to overhaul and modernise her transport system, in particular her railways. It should here be added that the prolonged drought of 1949 has further complicated an already complex situation by reducing the water power available to the railways.

These very shortages, and the knowledge that Spain must rely upon her own slender resources, have sharpened the Spanish gift of improvisation. Some of the motor cars on the roads are of long-forgotten models, while others are the product of ingenious cross-breeding—pieced and put together from patches and parts of other machines. From the car standpoint, they are doubtless antediluvian—or at least well pre-streamlined. *E pur se muove*, as was first murmured in quite another context. They do go quite well, indeed surprisingly well. An English banker, resident in Spain for twenty years, told me that lately Spaniards have built up a remarkable motor accessories industry and that, although their raw material was not quite first-class, none-the-less their finished products fell little short of similar production in the United States. He spoke from personal experience, for he had visited and examined several of these factories with a banker's eye and sense of business. A similar industry has been developed for the manufacture of cinema projectors and accessories with a corresponding technical success.

Anyone who fancies that Spain is a cold and silent land where, in an atmosphere of repression and with a sense of an all-seeing government eye and an all-registering government ear, no man dare comment or complain, would be well advised to have lunch in the *comedor* of the Port Bou-Barcelona train. I had had no food that day save for a cup of coffee in the buffet on Toulouse station about five in the morning. It was past midday when we passed finally out of the customs' hands and our train steamed southwards away from the frontier. I went to the dining car and found myself at one end in the midst of a group of Spaniards—clearly Catalans—who were returning from a pilgrimage to Rome. They had much to say about the glories of Rome and of the deep impression made on them by the Holy Father. They had nearly as much to say about the good food they had eaten in Italy. But they had certainly twice as many comments about what they considered the bad feeding in the dining-car. " This bread ", they said to one another, taking up the offending portions in their hands, " look at it. In Italy we ate good white bread. This thing is a scandal and a disgrace to Spain ". Personally, I thought the bread somewhat brown and a trifle solid ; but it was thoroughly eatable and I ate several pieces of it. " A shame and a disgrace " was

their verdict on it; they told one another, they told the waiters, they told almost the entire *comedor*. As a matter of fact, it was indistinguishable from most of the bread we now consume in Britain. "And then this *butter*", some of them continued: another disgrace to Spain. Not that they were querulous—not in the least. They were full of good spirits and most apologetic to myself that I should have to eat such bread on my Spanish visit. I fancy that the meat, too, served in the *comedor*, came under their same stigma of national scandal and disgrace; but of this detail I am not quite sure. What I am sure of, however, is that no similar band of cheerful and critical pilgrims would have lasted long at liberty in Hitler's Germany or in Stalin's Russia.

## II

Barcelona I reached in the late afternoon and shortly afterwards I embarked on a slighter journey, this time by electric train for two hours northwards to a small town, which is nonetheless an episcopal see, set amid the wooded hills that are the precursors of the Pyrennees. The town is Vich—venue for an international congress of Catholic Apologetics to which I had been invited as guest and lecturer. Of the congress I shall say nothing here in detail. I hope to do so later and, as they have a habit of saying in the British House of Commons, "in another place". However, the congress was important enough to attract Cardinal Tedeschini from Rome to attend its closing sessions, and on the closing Sunday General Franco and several members of his cabinet passed most of the day in Vich.

Vich, quiet city of thirteen thousand inhabitants and market town in the midst of a fruitful countryside, enjoys, like many another of these cities under the shadow of the Pyrennees, a long and interesting history. The townsfolk, rightly proud of this history, claim that their city stands on the site of a Roman settlement, Ausa, founded by Julius Caesar himself in 49 B.C. and then converted into a *municipium* by the Emperor Vespasian in 75 A.D. and placed under the direct administration of the Roman Senate. It was taken and occupied by the Visigoths towards the close of the fifth century and retaken by the Franks at the end of the eighth. For a time it had a local lord of its own, the Count of Ausona; later it was ruled by the Counts of Barcelona; then, early in the fourteenth century, it became part of the domains of royal Aragon. A centre of culture, Latin and Christian, it had a cathedral as far back as the fourth century; a second was planned in the eleventh—a golden era for the city, for it was Bishop Oliba of Vich who established the two Benedictine monasteries of Cuixá and Ripoll—Ripoll that in due time was to be the monastic mother of Montserrat; a third cathedral started to rise in the seventeenth century; and it is this building, later reconstructed and then more lately

restored after the Republican soldiers had set fire to it and looted it in 1936, which to-day is the centre and inspiration of this very Catholic town. Round the walls of the cathedral are the remarkable frescoes of the modern artist, José M. Sert, curiously modern and striking in this peaceful Pyrennean city.

Here and there, had you time to loiter in the streets and plazas, you would light upon some record of a Roman past. Not far from the cathedral, in part built around a later edifice, is one shorter side of a Roman temple, its six columns even now intact. Along the west wall of the cathedral cloister may be found a Roman altar, sacred to Diana and dedicated to that pagan lady by Caius Cornelius Magnus ; and, not far away, is a commemorative marble erected by Antonius Galerius Verus in memory of his wife, Nigrina, and his daughter, Cornelia.

In the centre of this cloister is the tomb and monument of the Spanish priest and writer Jaimé Balmes, a native of Vich, who died there in 1848 at the early age of thirty-eight. He was an outstanding apologist and theologian of the earlier nineteenth century, and it was to commemorate the centenary of his death that the congress of Apologetics was held—and held at Vich. Spain is now learning, later than most nations, to pay public honour to her great men. 1948 saw ceremonies and conferences to celebrate yet another centenary, that of the distinguished Spanish theologian Francisco Suarez, as shortly before had been feted a centenary of Cervantes. 1948 staged one other congress, in memory of Balmes the philosopher ; this found its complement in 1949, at Vich, in appreciation of Balmes the Catholic apologist. I trust that, at no distant date, the Spanish authorities will sponsor yet another international congress, this time in recognition of a thinker and writer whose analysis of nineteenth century political movements has proved both remarkably acute and uncannily prophetic. I refer to the diplomat and essayist Juan Donoso Cortes.

My intention was to say nothing in the concrete about this Vich congress. Yet I dare not pass on without expressing my genuine gratitude for the deep kindness shown to us foreign *congresistas* with that mixture of courtesy and sincerity which is peculiarly Spanish. We—the clerics—were lodged in the new *Seminario Mayor* (it has three hundred diocesan students), which was officially opened on the closing Sunday of the congress. Here we were housed in students' rooms, compact and small, but this mattered very little as Spanish hospitality kept us away from those rooms except for a very few hours in the late night or, better, early morning. The meetings were held, not as they would probably have been in another country, in some public or college hall, where the weaker brethren might console their frailty with tobacco or loll comfortably, but in a church—the church of the hospital in the Rambla Santo Domingo. A large tapestry hung before the high altar, from which the Blessed

Sacrament had naturally been removed ; across the sanctuary was placed a long presidential table, to which different members were invited session by session. At one meeting no less than seven bishops sat behind the table of presidency and there were, I think, nineteen bishops present in Vich for the concluding Sunday. The sessions were long. Four hours in the morning, from 10 a.m. until 2 p.m., during which five papers would be read, with some discussion afterwards ; and then, after an unhurried lunch, another four or four and a half hours, from four o'clock onwards. A late evening meal and then—oh Spain most hospitable, what physical demands you make upon your guests !—a visit to the local theatre-cinema -concert hall, specially adorned with gala costume for this important week. One night, a play of Calderon, *El Alcalde de Zalamea*, as familiar to a Spanish audience as, let us say, *The Merchant of Venice* or *Twelfth Night* in London or Dublin ; another night, an orchestral concert given by the Municipal Orchestra of Barcelona, with one hundred players ; a third, a display of characteristic dances and a choral performance of both sacred and popular music. I remember that, on this third occasion, the theatre clock showed two a.m. as we hurried back to the seminary and to a few hours of repose in those students' rooms. It must be confessed that a good many of the *congresistas* from abroad showed signs of wilting and drooping before the end of the week, but the Spaniards appeared as energetic, as vital and as talkative as ever.

Throughout my short stay in Spain I was struck all the time and forcibly by this quality of *vitality* in Spaniards. It may come from the generous Spanish sunshine. I am told that Spaniards are lazy or at any rate that they are lazy in Southern Spain, in Andalusia. One day, when I was in Madrid in mid June and the thermometer rose and fell sluggishly between 95 and 97 degrees, the temperature registered in Seville was 113 degrees. Who could be anything but indolent in that atmosphere ? I am told that much of this energy goes up in—talk. Maybe, but there is plenty of energy to be used somehow and where. I came away from Spain convinced that the world will hear a good deal about Spain in the next ten or twenty years and that Spaniards will play a far more important part in world affairs than they have done for many a decade past.

## III

In offering a summary of my impressions and views about Spain after so short a visit, I am not claiming that they possess any particular weight nor do I imagine that no one will disagree with me. I know that, in England at least, one has only to utter the name " Franco " to divide an audience as neatly into two as Julius Caesar, at the beginning of his Gallic War, divided his *Gallia* into three. That name has become a *scandalum* or stumbling block, in the scriptural sense ; and it evokes a

widespread and bitter psychological reaction, entirely divorced from any knowledge of General Franco himself or of conditions inside Spain.

But let me begin with economics. There is no doubt at all that the economic situation inside Spain is grim. Spain is living in hard times. Wages are, on the whole, low ; prices, except in the case of a few rationed commodities such as bread and meat, have risen and are relatively high. Prices have found their natural level in Spain, uncontrolled by substantial subsidies such as are provided by the British government. Spain is a poor country, to begin with. Relations between Spain and other countries have made it more difficult to import necessary goods. I have spoken of rations. It is possible to buy rationed bread reasonably, and there are three categories for this bread ration—the largest and most favourable of them being that of manual workers. Some meat, too, can be bought rationed or at controlled prices, but only a small amount. For the rest, Spain has a widespread *black* market, not hidden but open, and therefore it might be called an open market ; but in it everything must be bought at something above the controlled rate. If a certain cut of meat, for example, is controlled at 18 pesetas per kilo, it will cost you 22 or 23 in shop or market. Conditions, therefore, bear heavily on both salaried officials and the working class. What aggravates the situation is that the commonest and most necessary foods—bread apart from the ration, butter, milk and meat—are most affected by the general shortage. It must be insisted that it is the shortage which lies at the root of these difficulties. Neither this nor any other government can make a loaf of bread do the work of three or a kilo of meat the job of five.

Out of this situation evils are bound to arise. Beggars accost you in the streets, more noticeably in Madrid than Barcelona, but they have not the ingenious persistence of beggars in Italy. A large proportion of the population appears to follow some extra calling after hours of ordinary work or to have some supplementary job, in order of course to make ends meet with a little more comfort. A postman, for instance, after his daily rounds will convert himself into a commercial agent. Madrid's army of shoe-cleaners has to be reckoned in four, not three figures ; there are sufficient of them, or so it would seem along the *avenidas* in the evening, to keep every piece of Madrid footwear shining and glossy throughout the year. The one place where it is impossible to buy English or American cigarettes is the tobacconist's. You may buy them almost everywhere else—in cafés and restaurants, at the newspaper kiosks, or from men and boys in the streets. The reigning austerity has produced a herd of small middle-men and middle-women and middle-boys. Jobs are duplicated and triplicated, just for the small pittance which the job brings in. It is forbidden to sell white bread, and accordingly white bread is not available in the bakeries. But I noticed in the old town of Barcelona that women stood about with baskets in the evening at most

street corners and outside the market; they were selling white bread, reduplicating the work of the bakers' shops and against the law. And, more than once, I watched policemen patrolling those very streets and paying not the slightest attention to these infringements.

The present government of Spain is called authoritarian, and the adjective is reasonably fair. It does not, however, control the Spanish markets nor has it much chance of doing so. For this several reasons could be cited. The first, psychological. In some countries the natural instinct of the citizen is to support the government, even when he may not agree with its particular politics, and, if regulations are enacted, to observe them. This would be true, in the main, of Holland and England. Seventy-five to eighty per cent. of the population would feel both obliged and inclined to observe official regulations. In Spain the position might well be reversed: one could count on from twenty to twenty-five per cent. who would naturally tend to keep the regulation, and on no more. The Spaniard is an individualist, to begin with. He has a strong tendency to answer " No " to regulations. He has a disconcerting habit of doing things just because he wants to, which often means because somebody, possibly an official personage, has suggested or commanded that he should do the opposite. And all this not from any political bias but from a consciousness of individuality and independence. Here is the root of that Spanish *anarchism* that makes it difficult for Spaniards to work together, in political life particularly, and yet guarantees the independence and self-assertiveness of the individual Spaniard against authority and the State.

One must not forget, in assessing these Spanish problems, the ugly fact of *graft*. Graft, by which I mean the use of money and influence to secure concessions, has always been a factor in Latin public life, and it would take more than the acknowledged seriousness and personal integrity of General Franco to banish this element from the economic and political scene. The straightened circumstances of to-day favour graft. For never have so many men in Spain chased so little raw material and so few industrial and commercial opportunities as to-day.

The prevailing austerity and the problems to which it has given rise must not blind the reader to the great efforts made through the past decade to provide better and more stable conditions for the working classes and to institute schemes and measures of social security. These schemes have been hampered by the lack of funds and resources, but they have begun to function. A widespread health service, guaranteed wages, a system of holidays with pay, etc.; all these and other measures have been introduced and implemented. It is quite unreal to regard Spain as a " reactionary " country, to borrow for a moment a Left-wing epithet. There may perhaps be in Spain a handful of wealthy individuals who are little affected by social responsibilities. The Spanish government

is very seriously and actively concerned with such responsibilities ; indeed, it has sponsored during the last ten years a variety of social schemes that would bear comparison with those of any country.

## IV

During my stay in Spain I discussed politics and the political situation with many and different people. And yet, comparing my observations with those of two friends of mine who were in Spain, the one just prior to and the other during my own visit, I found that their conclusions differed very considerably from mine. From the circles with which they had chiefly mixed, they had the impression that people treated the question of the monarchy as a real and pressing one and that the restoration of the monarchy was a matter of time. Now, I must admit that I did not gather that impression. Indeed, what did force itself upon my mind most of all was a conviction that the great majority of Spaniards were not looking ahead to possible changes of government after a number of years but were very earnestly concerned with the immediate problems—most of them economic and social—of the present day. A continuance of order and peace was absolutely necessary for them to tackle those problems ; and on that ground alone, if for no higher loyalty, the overwhelming majority would favour, for the time being, the present regime. During Franco's visit to Barcelona, which lasted for three weeks from the end of May, posters appeared everywhere with the justified claim that he had given ten years of order and ten years of peace to the country. That was an argument that went home to all except a small minority.

On the other hand, I heard much criticism of the government. And this from various points of view. The Basques and Catalans, in the North-West and North-East, complain that the government is too centralised, that it has no sympathy with autonomous aspirations and little understanding of provincial problems. This criticism has nothing to do with Communist opposition, for the Basques are the most fervent Catholics in the Peninsula and the Catalans are the business men of Spain, although a considerable proportion of Basques and Catalans would doubtless prefer, were it in any manner feasible, a more " democratic " system of government on British or Irish lines. The same peoples complain that the government is bureaucratic, that weeks are wasted with forms and applications for permits and that in the end a business man must himself go to Madrid, if he wants anything to be done. They also complain that, in an otherwise laudable attempt to spread the burden of austerity over the whole country, the government has severely penalized the richer and more industrialized provinces of the North. Restrictions upon the use of power have certainly slowed down production and interfered with trade in Barcelona and Bilbao.

It is, however, difficult to discover in what consists the political opposition and what may be its strength. Spain has the tradition of monarchy, and the experiment with republicanism proved disastrous. It is clear that this experiment will not be tried again, at least for a long time, and it seems to be commonly accepted that one day or other, though not yet, the monarchy will return. The Republican politicians, now abroad for more than a decade, are definitely discredited; from them can come little danger and no hope. The monarchy could scarcely be restored without the positive approval and co-operation of the present government and, like every political system, the Spanish government has increased—and this inevitably—the number of persons connected with its administration and interested in its survival. Those who have criticised the present government for one or other of its attitudes—for instance, its narrow conception of Press censorship, its removal of certain liberties which it would now be safe to restore—have always ended by saying that there is no practical alternative. Even such as ideally would advocate Parliamentary democracy gave it as their opinion that a Parliamentary democratic system would not function properly and peacefully in present-day Spain, on the ground in part that Spaniards naturally group themselves in many and small parties with the result that the door would be opened wide to Communist and other intrigue and also because political passions (which are gradually learning to lie dormant) would flare up to fanaticism, were the controlling hand of a firm government removed. One might adapt a well-known saying and declare that, if Franco had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent him: and that, I think, is a widely prevailing conviction throughout Spain. To this it must be added that General Franco, even where he may not be liked or is positively disliked, is respected as a man. No one calls into question his earnestness of purpose or his personal integrity nor, I think, his devotion to the interests of Spain and to the course by which he considers those interests are best served.

## V

To turn from home to foreign affairs. The position of General Franco has certainly been strengthened by the foolish attitude of the United States and Britain, to say nothing of that officially adopted by the United Nations' Organization with regard to Spain. That Western countries should maintain ambassadors in Moscow and Budapest and Prague and yet refuse to be represented at Madrid seems to the Spaniard the very essence of stupidity or hypocrisy. That a body as august and, one originally hoped, as valuable as the United Nations' Organization should seriously pass a resolution that Spain to-day constituted not an immediate but nevertheless a remote danger to world peace, when the whole world realises with perfect clarity what Power it is that presents an actual and

immediate threat to the peace of the world, is looked upon by the average Spaniard as a piece of appeasement which is sheer disgrace or a mood of blindness which is supreme folly. The Spaniard, because he is a Latin, thinks clearly and logically. The Spaniard, because he is a Spaniard, tends to see all patterns very sharply outlined and in vividly contrasting colours; he is all for the one thing and all against the other; wholeheartedly for the truth as he conceives it and thoroughly opposed to what gainsays or challenges that truth; his world is a chequerboard of black and white, not a cloudy *sfumatura* of vaguely merging hues and tones; for him life and its problems are resumed in the strict antithesis, *Todo o Nada*, everything or nothing—doubtless the legacy of Spain's many-centuried strain and struggle against the Moors. The Spaniard of to-day, because he is a Spaniard of the twentieth century, has seen with his own eyes what Communism can foment and achieve in terms of fraternal hatred and studied butchery. In consequence, he just cannot, and he does not, understand how countries like the United States and Britain can indulge in a policy of appeasement—no doubt staving off the day of reckoning but bringing with it a much weightier reckoning when that day comes. For the Spaniard this appeasement is the pathway to disaster. Or maybe, in his puzzlement, he imagines that these Western Powers are playing some subtle and intriguing game, of which he can unravel neither the beginning nor the end.

A short time back, a well-known Labour M.P. and member of the British government met a delegation of Catholics in the North of England. To their protests concerning the persecution of the Church in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and their inquiries whether he would support a motion to break off diplomatic relations with those countries, he answered that such a measure would not help Catholics under the governments in question and might eventually do them positive harm. Also, he pointed out, a British ambassador or minister abroad was not there for the advantage of the foreign country but for the benefit of Britain. The reply was reasonably sound. The pity is that it was not borne more forcibly in mind when the British government withdrew its ambassador from Spain. One consequence is that Britain is not properly represented in Madrid. There is a British Embassy, with a *chargé d'affaires* and a staff of more than sixty. But the Spaniards, who have a nice sense of *punctilio* and the courtesies, do not forget that representation was officially and publicly withdrawn, and their attitude is accordingly very cool. The position of the United States Embassy is easier; for, though its government did associate itself with the resolution of U.N.O., it had at the time no ambassador in Madrid to be recalled.

From the standpoint of the Western Powers, there is every reason why more normal relations should at once be established with Spain. It is nonsense to maintain ambassadors and ministers in Russia and in

those countries which Russia controls and to refuse to have ambassadorial representation in Madrid. The ostracism of Spain has defeated its always dubious purpose. It has reduced the influence of the Powers that recalled or have refused to accredit ambassadors and at the same time it has secured increasing support within Spain for General Franco. Psychologically, it was a silly manoeuvre as anyone with experience of the Spanish character could have foreseen. If you want a Spaniard to do something for you, politeness is the surest approach. Then he will do anything, almost everything, for you. Each Spaniard is a *senor*, very conscious of his innate dignity and very ready to oblige you, provided you respect that dignity and let him see that you do respect it. But try to bully him, and woe betide you. He will dig his two feet into the ground like one of his own *burros*, and nothing will make him budge. My argument that more normal relations should be restored immediately has nothing to do with the possible good or bad points of the Franco régime. Even were that régime as black as it is painted in Left-wing circles, my argument would stand ; I would press as strongly for this resumption of relationship. Had contact between the governments of Spain and the Western countries been closer and more cordial during the past three years, some of the so-called " abuses " of the Franco régime—let us employ the term for argument's sake—might easily have been ameliorated, even remedied, and missing liberties been generously restored. The abnormal relations which have been prevailing have convinced Spaniards that they are living in a state of siege and of emergency—a condition which has justified a continuance of emergency measures.

More than once in Spain I was met with the following challenge : " How can you restore the economy of western Europe if you are doing your worst to ruin the economy of Spain ? " The situation would be Gilbertian, were the times not far too grim and threatening for such levity. Spain is an essential part of Western Europe. In fact, as Western Europe lies on the map to-day, Spain is of all West European lands the most essential. It is the cornerstone which holds together France and the Low Countries, on the one hand, and on the other, the peninsulas of the Mediterranean. From the strategic viewpoint, its situation is all-important. It is not only the keystone of Western Europe ; it is at one and the same time the natural bridge between West Europe and North Africa and perhaps the most direct and natural causeway between Western Europe and the United States.

## VI

Now, it is glibly assumed at times in Anglo-Saxon countries that, to be colloquial, Spain is " in the bag " anyhow. After all, Spain is thoroughly anti-Communist ; if the Western Powers are compelled at

long last to take drastic measures against Communism and Soviet Russia, Spain will naturally go with them. Therefore, for the time being, these Powers need not bother overmuch about their Spanish policy. I have asked myself several times whether, in this facile argument, the Western Powers are not making a very big mistake. That Spain is anti-Communist is more than obvious. Spain is the one country in Europe that has had to face the Communist menace on its native soil and, in its own manner and at frightful cost, has overcome and banished it. The sympathies of the people of Spain would certainly be with the Western countries, should they be involved in war with Russia.

However, there are certain factors which cannot be ignored, this side of foolishness. For thirteen years Spain has been cut off from normal contact with most other countries, first by the civil war, then throughout the six years of the second World War, and even since by the shortsighted policy of other countries. In consequence, the younger generation of Spaniards have grown up with practically no contact with foreigners. They have been thrown back upon their country and themselves. This has bred a spirit of nationalism which, though not bellicose or hostile to foreigners, is nevertheless self-conscious. National propaganda and the influence of education have made the youth and young manhood sensitively and definitely Spanish—far more so than prior to 1936. They look for their salvation and for the progress of their country, not to international societies such as U.N.O., whose record of appeasement condemns them to futility in Spanish eyes, not to other countries whose attitude they consider equivocal or dishonest, but to Spain itself. I am not suggesting that this is the mentality of all young Spaniards—numerous exceptions could be found, especially in the North—but it is a widespread mental outlook. The mood of isolation—in part inevitable because of wars, in part unfortunate because avoidable yet not avoided—has certainly loosened the sense of common ties with the rest of Western Europe. French policy towards Spain since 1945 has had unhappy consequences and France is Spain's nearest European neighbour. When men preached to Spaniards the benefits of democratic Parliamentary rule, the Spaniards looked at France. They saw chaos, disorder, irresponsibility; in fact they beheld the very conditions which had prevailed in Spain itself shortly prior to the civil war. Indeed, French conditions appeared to them even worse than they had been in Spain. It did not help relations between the two countries that France should close the Franco-Spanish frontier; it did convince a large proportion of Spaniards that their salvation had to be sought in their own way of thought and life. It would be most unwise, I consider, to assume that Spain is the proverbial ripe apple waiting to tumble into Western laps or that the Spanish army, not well-equipped but of excellent morale, is available at call from Fontainebleau.

JOHN MURRAY

# HENRY OF LONDON, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN

## A STUDY IN ANGLO-NORMAN STATECRAFT

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IN his *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (1924) Professor Charles Homer Haskins devotes a whole chapter to the biography of Michael Scot, court astrologer to the Emperor Frederick II. In this chapter Professor Haskins makes it clear that Pope Honorius III, on 31 May 1224, provided Master Michael Scot to the see of Cashel, then vacant by the resignation of Donatus (Donnchad) Ua Longargain. This provision did not take effect owing to Michael's resignation within the next few weeks. How did the Pope come to make what must seem to us an incongruous choice when he provided this wandering scholar from Scotland to the see of Cashel? I asked myself that question a few months ago, when I happened to be reading Haskins on the history of medieval scientific thought. Very soon I found myself straying down a curious and unexplored by-path of Irish medieval history. Apart from the personal link between one of the most distinguished of medieval scientists and the see of Cashel, there is here—as I hope to show—an instructive object-lesson in English statecraft as exercised in the control of the Irish Church.

### I

To appreciate the significance of that lesson, we must go back to the career of an Englishman who, more than any other of his generation, typifies the statecraft of those Anglo-Norman rulers in Ireland who had been trained in the harsh and often brutal school of King John's administration. As archbishop of Dublin (1213-28), as justiciar (1213-15), as papal legate (1217-20), and again as justiciar (1221-24) Henry of London left a permanent mark on the history of the Irish Church. The man who was remembered in Dublin as the builder of Dublin Castle and as "Scorchvillein" ("Flayer of Serfs") by his tenants was also the man who first claimed the title of Primate for the archbishops of Dublin; and there was a moment in his career when it seemed probable that he might make a radical change in the whole character of the Irish hierarchy, substituting English for Irish bishops in every diocese of the four provinces. The provision of Michael Scot to the see of Cashel in 1224 marks a turning-point in Henry's hitherto successful aggressions: it was in fact, and was meant to be, a check to his ambition.

Thanks to the recent investigations of Dr. E. St. John Brooks,[1] we know that the future archbishop of Dublin was a son of Bartholomew Blund, an alderman of London who died c. 1200. His elder brother Robert, also a London alderman, was sheriff in 1197. The family acquired land in Buckinghamshire, where Robert leased the manor of Hughenden for twenty-five years in 1212-13. Henry, who was a king's clerk and archdeacon of Stafford before the death of Richard I, seems to have been the link between this London merchant family and Hughenden. As early as 1194 the archdeacon of Stafford had a house in Hughenden, with rights of common wood, haybote, housebote and pannage for his swine. When John became king in 1199, Henry—who had worked under John during the years when Richard I was absent in Palestine—could count on royal patronage, and his name occurs frequently in the records of John's reign. There is nothing in these records to connect the archdeacon of Stafford with Ireland before 1212, but there is an unfortunate gap in the most important records for the years 1209-10-11 : years which include John's Irish expedition of 1210. We are thus unable to follow the archdeacon's fortunes at a time when John may very well have been planning to make him archbishop of Dublin in succession to John Cumin, his father's nominee. Archbishop Cumin had been elected irregularly in 1181, some months after the death of St. Laurence O'Toole in Normandy : he was an old man when he died in October 1212. Four months before that date (16 June) an entry on the close rolls tells us that the archdeacon of Stafford was on his way to Ireland. It seems a fair inference that this sudden journey was due to news that the archbishop of Dublin was nearing his end. The King was bound to arrange, if he could, for the election of an archbishop whose personal loyalty to himself would be beyond question. Henry of London had worked in close association with him through the five long years of the interdict (1208-13). From first to last he had proved himself a king's man. John's influence on the appointment may be taken for granted, though we know little as to the actual process of election. The two Dublin chapters voted for the first time on this occasion ; and their agreement (a rare event during the next hundred years) suggests the influence of strong royal pressure.

Henry of London was archbishop-elect on 15 May 1213, when he was present at Dover to witness the formal ceremony of the King's submission to the sentence of Innocent III. John surrendered his crown into the hands of the Pope's legate and received it back as the Pope's vassal. Henceforth the King of England was in law the feudal subject of Innocent III, and John was quick to exploit the advantages of his new status in his quarrel with the spiritual and temporal lords of his realm. In Ireland he needed a minister who could be trusted to execute the

[1] " Archbishop Henry of London and his Irish Connections ", in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 60 (1930), pp. 1-22.

King's orders and advance the King's interests. Archbishop Henry was appointed justiciar of Ireland on 23 July 1213 and held this office until the summer of 1215.

As justiciar the archbishop received custody of Dublin Castle in November 1213. The work of building a stone castle as the chief seat of English government in Ireland had been begun some years before this date, but Archbishop Henry seems to have completed the work within the next two years: the Dublin Annals of St. Mary's name him and no other as builder of the castle. Apart from his duties as justiciar or chief political and judicial officer in Ireland, which need not concern us, the archbishop's main interest in his diocese during these first years of his rule seems to have been the final establishment of a full cathedral chapter in St. Patrick's collegiate church. A charter, which dates most probably from 1214, constituted three new offices of precentor, chancellor and treasurer in the chapter. English clerks were appointed at once to these three offices.[1] The more important office of dean was not formally constituted until 1220, when the archbishop nominated his own nephew—Master William fitzWido, son of Wido or Guido who was the husband of Henry's sister Anna. The new chapter, with its prebends and English-born canons, rapidly out-distanced the more monastic chapter of Christ Church as the effective administrative centre of the diocese. The archbishop-justiciar was also busy at this time with the task of finally absorbing the Irish diocese of Glendalough as an archdeaconry within the archdiocese of Dublin. In the summer of 1214 he made an unsuccessful attempt to have one of his own clerks, Geoffrey White, chosen as bishop of Cork at a time of vacancy. Such matters were to concern him more closely in the future.

## II

When the crisis of 1215 which was ended by the signing of Magna Carta came to a head in England, Archbishop Henry crossed over from Dublin and was one of the principal witnesses who stood beside the King on the field of Runnymede. Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury who owed his consecration in 1207 to the successful intervention of Innocent III against John's nominee, stood on the opposite side in that famous interview. It must have been no small relief to these two prelates, so different from one another in personal character, education and experience, that the Pope had already summoned them, with all other archbishops and bishops of Christendom, to attend the sessions of the fourth Lateran Council which was solemnly opened on 11 November. For the next twelve months Archbishop Henry was in Rome, where he was active on the King's behalf as leader of the English party in a divided Irish hierarchy.

[1] H. J. Lawlor: *The Fasti of St. Patrick's Dublin* (Dundalk, 1930), pp. 2-6.

By the end of Innocent III's pontificate the constitution of the Irish hierarchy was very much as it is to-day. In the province of Armagh Down and Connor were still separate dioceses; Dromore had recently gained recognition as distinct from Down. The diocese of Kells, which seems to have been formed at the synod of Kells in 1152, had been absorbed into the diocese of Meath in 1211 or soon after that date. The province of Tuam was as it is to-day, except for the fact that two separate dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Enachdun filled the place of the modern diocese of Galway. The diocese of Mayo, which seems never to have had more than an intermittent existence, was absorbed into the diocese of Tuam soon after 1210. The province of Cashel still counted Kilfenora as a separate diocese; Waterford and Lismore were not yet united, nor were Cashel and Emly. The province of Dublin was as it is to-day, though the slow process by which Glendalough was absorbed into Dublin had not yet been completed. Of the dioceses named in the official list of Cardinal Paparo (1152) Kells, Duleek, Glendalough, Scattery Island, Roscrea, Ardmore, Mungret and Mayo had lost their separate existence before 1215.

The policy of absorbing smaller into larger dioceses, which had been initiated at the synod of Kells, was now being used by the Anglo-Norman conquerors for their own purposes. The union of Glendalough and Dublin, which may perhaps have been planned by St. Laurence O'Toole before the advent of Strongbow, was carried through by John Cumin and Henry of London as a measure for the advancement of English interests in a key position. A very similar effort to absorb the ancient see of Lismore in the newly founded Norse-Irish diocese of Waterford was made by a series of Anglo-Norman bishops of Waterford during the first decade of the thirteenth century. Bishop Robert of Waterford had not abandoned hope of success in this policy when he left Ireland to attend the sessions of the Lateran Council. The absorption of Kells in Meath was finally effected by the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Meath, Simon Rochfort: it marks a fresh stage in the steady progress of Anglo-Norman influence in the great central plain of Ireland. The absorption of Mayo by Tuam, on the other hand, has no apparent relation to this struggle between the two races: just as the later revival of this see's independent existence in the fifteenth century seems to have been due to local causes, not to any reason of high policy.

A list of the Irish bishops who attended the fourth Lateran Council has been preserved.[1] The four archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam were present; with the bishops of Meath, Down, Raphoe and Clonmacnois from the northern province; the bishops of Kildare and Ferns from the province of Dublin; the bishops of Limerick,

[1] It has been printed by H. Leclercq in his translation of Hefele's *Histoire des Conciles*, V. 2, p. 1727.

Waterford, Emly, Killaloe and Ross from the southern province; and the bishops of Enachdun, Achonry and Killala from the western province. Of these eighteen bishops six were Englishmen: Archbishop Henry (Dublin), Simon Rochfort (Meath), Ralph (Down), Edmund (Limerick), Henry (Emly), Robert (Waterford). The archbishop of Armagh was Echdonn mac Gille Uidhir, whose election in 1201 had been opposed for some years by King John and his justiciar. A compromise had been effected some years later by which Luke Netterville, an ambitious Anglo-Norman clerk, became archdeacon of Armagh with what appears to have been a right of succession on the Primate's death. Certainly the unanimous choice of Netterville by a chapter which must have included several Irish canons in 1217, is not easy to explain on any other hypothesis. The archbishop of Cashel was Domhnall Ua Longargain (second of that name), whose territory had already been seized in large part by the new invaders. His death in Rome at some date before July 1216 gave the English party an opportunity for pressing their claims to a post they must have coveted. But Innocent III was still alive at this date—he died on 16 July—and a third Donatus (Donnchad) Ua Longargain was elected and consecrated in Rome before the Pope died. Echdonn mac Gille Uidhir died in Rome at some date after August 1216; and the bishop of Killaloe (Conn Ua h-Ennai) died on his way back from the Council.

The policy of substituting English for Irish bishops was an almost inevitable sequel to the decrees of the synod of Cashel (1171) by which the Irish bishops, having taken an oath of fealty to the King of England, formally recognised the customs of the English Church as binding in Ireland. The royal *congé d'élire* was the most important of these customs, and we can trace the steady pressure of successive English Kings to secure the exact observance of the royal right in this matter with each new vacancy in the Irish hierarchy. The election of John Cumin in 1181 was a dramatic assertion of this right, though the electors in this instance were irregularly nominated by Henry II. Dublin was not the first Irish see to be ruled by an Anglo-Norman bishop. John de Courci's daringly successful dash northwards in 1176 put him in a position to dictate his terms to the ecclesiastics of the two dioceses of Down and Connor. In Down Bishop Malachy (Eachmilidh) had recently been elected, and he continued to rule the diocese until his death in 1202. By that time the diocese had been thoroughly reorganised under John de Courci's personal rule as lord of Ulster. Ralph, who succeeded as bishop of Down in 1202, was the first of a long line of English bishops for the rest of the medieval period. In Connor the see was vacant when the Normans first raided the territory, and a Bishop Reginald of Connor appears in our records from 1178 onwards. He was thus the first English bishop of an Irish see. Simon Rochfort became bishop of Meath in 1191-2; there were Anglo-Norman bishops of Cork for a few years (1183-88); Bishop John

of Leighlin seems to have been a Norman monk (1201); Hugh de Rous became bishop of Ossory in 1202; two bishops by the name of Robert were bishops of Waterford in succession during the first years of the century; Henry became bishop of Emly in 1211; and Edmund was bishop of Limerick before 1213. There were thus nine Anglo-Norman bishops in Ireland when Innocent III sent out his summons to the Lateran Council. Seven of these nine went to Rome, whilst eleven Irish-born bishops went from those parts of the country where English influence was not yet strong enough to impose an Anglo-Norman bishop. Two of these Irish bishops came from territories that had already been heavily settled by Anglo-Norman lords: Kildare and Ferns. These two bishops —Cornelius Mac Gelain and Ailbe Ua Maelmhuaidh—died in the same year (1223), and their places were taken immediately by two Anglo-Norman bishops. We may assume that the chapters of their dioceses had been captured by the English interest many years before the vacancies occurred. The presence or absence of an English or Irish bishop is not a completely trustworthy indication of the extent to which English or Irish interests prevailed in any diocesan territory.

Death carried off the Pope himself, the Irish Primate, the archbishop of Cashel and the bishop of Killaloe within a few weeks in the summer of 1216. The vacancy in Cashel, as we have seen, was filled before the death of Innocent III. A vacancy had also occurred in Lismore, most probably before 1216; but no steps could be taken to end it until the dispute as to jurisdiction between Waterford and Lismore had been settled by judicial process. Innocent III heard the case in person and gave sentence in favour of the continued independence of Lismore. Not content with this decision, he also confirmed the election of a bishop who seems to have been an Irishman, though we know little more of him than that his Christian name began with the letter T. On the Pope's instructions, this new bishop was consecrated in Rome by the new archbishop of Cashel. These two vacancies were thus terminated by elections that were favourable to the Irish interest, though the English party won their case in the final union, by papal decree, of the two dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough. There was as yet no indication that the next few years were to witness a rapid, and indeed ruthless extension of English interests in the two great provinces of Armagh and Cashel.

From our records it is plain that most of the Irish bishops were still in Rome at the time of Innocent's death on 16 July 1216. The archbishop of Dublin was apparently still in Rome on 6 October, when the new Pope (Honorius III) issued a brief by which he confirmed the earlier confirmation of Innocent III as to the final union of Dublin and Glendalough. Most probably Archbishop Henry set out from Rome for England soon after that date: he had gained an important legal victory, and he had been absent for more than twelve months. Meanwhile the King's cause had

fared badly. The eldest son of the King of France, the future Louis VIII, had crossed the Channel at the request of the English barons and was now challenging John's right to the throne within the boundaries of his kingdom. John's sudden death on 19 October threw the whole realm into confusion. Would the barons who had thrown over their allegiance to the father prove themselves more loyal to his nine year old son?

## III

John's sins, and they were many, had been the main cause of the disorder which had come upon the kingdom in the last year of his reign. Young Henry III was innocent of his father's crimes; and he had, from the first, the immense advantage of papal support for his legal claim. Within ten days of his father's death he had been crowned at Gloucester. The affairs of the kingdom were in the capable hands of William Marshall, most honoured of all England's feudal lords, and the bishop of Winchester, Pierre des Roches, who became the young king's tutor. The papal legate Guala was the third in a triumvirate which, after some months of grave anxiety and inconclusive fighting, proved strong enough to rally most of the barons to the King's cause and, finally, to oust the French prince from England. A reissue of Magna Carta on 12 November was the first act of the regency. William Marshall's bold decision as a strategist to evacuate a number of castles on the east coast, which were isolated in territory that had gone over to the side of Louis, gained valuable breathing space and made possible, at the cost of an immediate loss, that concentration of forces which in the end was justified by a decisive victory at Lincoln (15 May 1217).[1]

Archbishop Henry was probably in Rome when news of John's death was brought to the Pope. If we allow three weeks for the despatch of urgent messengers—and the need was indeed urgent—then we may calculate that Honorius III knew of John's death in the second week of November: perhaps somewhat later. The archbishop of Dublin would lose no time in setting out for England on receipt of news that threatened his whole position at home. We have no record of his journey, but his presence in Oxford is indicated by an entry on the close rolls for 14 December. Geoffrey de Marisco, the nephew of Archbishop John Cumin, whose name recurs so frequently in the story of Anglo-Norman aggression in Ireland under John and Henry III, had been justiciar in Ireland since July 1215. Orders were sent to him in the King's name from Oxford, on 14 December, that the land which had been taken from Nicholas Verdon during the time of his rebellion against the late king should now be restored to him; and that the archbishop of Dublin, from

[1] F. M. Powicke: *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947) I.

whom Nicholas held this land, should be restored to his rights as feudal lord. This order was sent at a time when William Marshall was negotiating with Louis for the surrender of the castles in Essex and East Anglia. The young King's cause was still almost desperate, but Henry of London can never have hesitated as to his duty and self-interest in the immediate crisis. He had been the loyal servant of John, and would now prove himself in the hour of need a loyal servant of John's son.

Loss of so many records at a time of great confusion makes it impossible to follow every move in the decisions that were taken at Oxford in these critical weeks. But two documents have survived on the patent rolls which, unless I am grievously mistaken, give us insight into the plans that were made at this time for the better government of Ireland. On 14 January William Marshall sent an order in the King's name from Oxford to Geoffrey de Marisco that the justiciar was not to permit any Irishman to be elected or appointed to any cathedral church in Ireland, since " our land of Ireland " could be disturbed by such appointments ; and on 17 January this order was repeated in more formal terms, bidding the justiciar by his fealty to the King not to permit any Irishman to be elected or promoted in future to any Irish see. A further clause was added to this second mandate. The justiciar is to take counsel with the archbishop of Dublin and use every means in his power to procure the election and promotion of the King's clerks and other honest English clerks, necessary to the King and the kingdom, as each vacancy should arise.

There had been hitherto no such bold and forthright statement of the policy implicit in the decrees of the synod of Cashel since the conquest of Ireland. That William Marshall should have felt himself strong enough to impose so ruthless a policy on the whole Irish Church at a time when the young King's chances of ultimate success in England were still most doubtful can, I think, only be explained by the recent arrival from Rome of a prelate who had recently acted as John's justiciar in Ireland and who felt himself secure in the favour and trust of the new Pope in Rome. The two mandates to Geoffrey de Marisco concerned the English and Irish Church most intimately, and the decision to issue these two mandates must have had the approval of Guala as papal legate in England and of the bishop of Winchester. But the driving force in the new policy must have been the archbishop of Dublin. The next few years were to show how strenuously he was prepared to act in execution of his new policy in Ireland.

On 16 April 1217 William Marshall sent a mandate to Geoffrey de Marisco and to all the King's loyal subjects and barons in Ireland, announcing Archbishop Henry's return to Ireland and ordering the King's subjects to obey the archbishop and the justiciar in all that concerned the King's interest. The general mandate begins with this significant

phrase : " Although we know that the presence in England of our venerable father Lord Henry, archbishop of Dublin, is most necessary to us and to our kingdom and that we can scarcely do without his counsel, nevertheless we are sending him to Ireland that he may visit and console his church which has been desolate for so long, and that he may strive with your help and counsel for the amendment of the state of Ireland and the execution of what needs to be done in your country ". The archbishop was certainly in Dublin before 6 July, when he received a mandate to aid and counsel the justiciar in all that concerned the King's orders, and especially in the matter of the castles and lands of Walter de Lacy.

## IV

Meanwhile an important decision had been taken in Rome, and we may fairly suspect that the Pope was acting on advice that had been sent from England, either by the legate Guala or by William Marshall. Honorius III was at this time, it must be remembered, the King's feudal over-lord. His whole policy in these first years of Henry's reign was directed to safeguarding the King's rights, which were now the Pope's own rights as over-lord, in England and Ireland. He had been active for the past six months in bringing pressure to bear on the King of France, whose son and heir was still challenging the King's position in England ; and the whole weight of his influence was on the King's side in the struggle between two rival loyalties. If, as we may assume, the council of regents in England recommended Archbishop Henry as the most apt instrument for the recovery of royal power in Ireland, the Pope would be quick to follow their advice. The bull which informed Archbishop Henry of his appointment as papal legate in Ireland is dated from the Lateran on 29 April 1217. Honorius begins by lamenting the harm that had been caused, first in England and now in Ireland, by the flame of revolt against the King's authority. He then tells the archbishop that he had granted him the full rights of a legate and was sending him to Ireland, " that you may make those decisions which you may judge expedient in the Lord both for the restoration of peace and for the support of the King ".

News of this appointment did not reach Archbishop Henry before his departure for Ireland in May or June, but William Marshall gives him his full title as archbishop and legate of the apostolic see in a mandate of 28 October. We may guess that the archbishop had begun to act with legatine powers during the summer of that year. The date is of some importance if we interpret the known facts as to the filling of some vacant Irish sees in the light of the new legate's open policy of substituting English for Irish prelates as each new vacancy might arise.

By the end of 1216 there were vacancies in Armagh, Killaloe, Ardfert and Ardagh. We know most of what happened in Armagh, which provided a test case of the legate's new policy. News of the Primate's death in

Rome must have reached Armagh before the end of the year. Archbishop Henry was most probably in Rome until the month of November, and he may have known of Echdonn's death before his own hurried departure for England. News of the vacancy in Armagh had certainly reached William Marshall and his fellow-regents at Gloucester by 22 January 1217, when the earl issued a mandate to Richard de Marisco, the King's chancellor in Ireland, giving him custody of the vacant see; and another to the dean and chapter of Armagh ordering them not to presume to elect any person as archbishop without the King's assent. These two mandates were issued just a week after the mandate by which Geoffrey de Marisco was ordered to see to it that in future only Englishmen were promoted to Irish bishoprics. Very probably the bold statement of policy in this earlier mandate was due to knowledge that a series of deaths had opened the way to a successful step forward towards the substitution of Englishmen for Irishmen in every Irish diocese.

The mandate of 22 January must have been received in Armagh in February or March, though it is always possible that bad weather may have delayed the King's messenger. Either in open defiance of the royal mandate or in ignorance of its nature, the dean and chapter proceeded to an election without having first obtained formal license to elect. Their choice was unanimous. Luke Netterville, the Anglo-Norman clerk who had been archdeacon of Armagh for the past ten years, was chosen to be Echdonn's successor. If the chapter knew of the mandate, they may have hoped that the choice of so loyal a King's man might induce the regents in England to overlook the omission of a petition for license to elect. News of the election had reached Rome before August 1, when Honorius III wrote to Luke as elect of Armagh, rebuking him for his excessive harshness in a case which had come before his court: he had demanded that an Irish priest of his diocese should purge himself by the witness of no less than fifty-eight priests, all of them of the same diocese and language as the accused party. Yet it was only in the middle of August that Luke presented himself at Oxford as elect of Armagh. He was then told (13 August) that his election was invalid, since license to elect had not been obtained. He was sent back to Armagh with a message that the King now granted free power to elect and that he prayed the chapter, if they thought fit, to elect Luke as a man of honest conversation and fame who had been useful to the King and the kingdom.

Archbishop Henry, who received his legatine powers from the Pope in the summer of that year, may well have intervened at some stage in this long process of election and negotiation. He was not the man to weaken on such a question as the King's right to grant license to elect or his right to approve the chapter's choice. Royal assent to Luke's election was delayed, for reasons that are not clear, until September 1219; and Archbishop Luke was finally consecrated by Stephen Langton as

late as 1220. Meanwhile the archbishop-legate of Dublin had been given (28 October 1217) custody of the vacant see of Armagh and of all other vacant sees in the province. Custody of the see, if effective, meant that the temporalities would not be restored until full justice had been done to the King's rights at every stage of the long process of election, confirmation and fealty. Here was the instrument of power by which the legate hoped to compel each Irish chapter in turn to submit their free election to the control and assent of the English King.

## V

We need not delay over the details of what happened in other Irish dioceses during the next four years. In Ardagh, where Annudh Ua Muirethaigh had died towards the end of 1216, an Anglo-Norman Cistercian monk named Robert, who had been abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin, was elected as the new bishop of Ardagh in 1217. There seems to have been an Irish rival bishop named Donnchad Ua Maoilciarain, who died as bishop of Ardcarne in 1224. In Killaloe and Ardfert (where an unrecorded death left the diocese vacant) Archbishop Henry made a bold effort to secure the appointment of Anglo-Norman bishops. In both dioceses free elections had been held according to ancient Irish custom before the summer of 1217; but the legate set these elections aside as invalid through failure to obtain the King's license, and secured the consecration of his two Anglo-Norman candidates whose election was obtained by a process of which we have no details. The new Anglo-Norman bishop of Ardfert was a Benedictine monk named John; the new bishop of Killaloe was Robert Travers, a nephew of the justiciar Geoffrey de Marisco. Donnchad Ua Longargain, the new archbishop of Cashel, seems to have been still in Rome at this time; and confirmation of these two elections was obtained from some unnamed clerk of his archdiocese who was acting in the absent archbishop's name. John of Ardfert and Robert of Killaloe were consecrated in 1217 by the three Anglo-Norman bishops of the southern province—Robert of Waterford, Edmund of Limerick and Henry of Emly. Meanwhile the two Irish bishops-elect had made their way to Rome, where they lodged a protest against these proceedings. The Pope nominated a court of judges to hear the two cases, and these judges found in favour of the Irish candidates. We know little of the actual position in Kerry, where it seems probable that Bishop John was never able to make good his claim to be bishop of the diocese. Robert Travers, as nephew of the justiciar and kinsman of Norman settlers in the manor of Ballinaclogh in Co. Tipperary, was able to hold his own for some years in that portion of his diocese which lay east of the Shannon. He was not finally ousted until 1221.

Yet another vacancy arose in Lismore, where the bishop who had been consecrated at Rome in 1216 died before the end of 1218. The

Anglo-Norman party were strong in the diocese, where a desperate struggle had been fought out for more than ten years between Bishop Robert of Waterford, seeking to annex the whole diocese, and an Irish Cistercian bishop who was dead before 1216. Early in 1219 the King's party had secured the election of Master Robert de Bedford, who was duly consecrated bishop of Lismore, the first in a long line of Anglo-Norman bishops of the diocese.

Failure to get control in Kerry and Killaloe was not yet apparent in 1219. The legate had thus good reason to be proud of the progress which had been made. In Leinster the two bishoprics of Kildare and Ferns were still ruled by Irish bishops, but the succession of Anglo-Norman bishops was already a moral certainty. In the province of Cashel, Waterford, Lismore, Emly and Limerick were firmly held ; and there was still hope of success in Ardfert and Killaloe. In the province of Armagh the Primate was now an Anglo-Norman prelate, with four Anglo-Norman suffragans in Meath, Ardagh, Down and Connor. Tuam was the only province which had not yet been attacked ; but the Norman advance into Connacht could not be and was not, in fact, long delayed. These were the years of Archbishop Henry's greatest triumphs ; the next few years were to show that Honorius III had been informed of his legate's ruthless policy, and that he took effective measures to remedy the evil.

AUBREY GWYNN

*(To be continued)*

# THE TIDE OF VICTORY AND DEFEAT

## II. THE BATTLE OF KINSALE, 1601[1]

BY G. A. HAYES-McCOY, M.A., PH.D.

IT was said of the Earl of Tyrone in 1597 that until the coming of the Spaniards " he will not fight upon the plain, however great advantage he has, but will lay all passes and streights for her Majesty's forces". This proved true. Until that December morning in 1601 when he marched against Mountjoy's army before the walls of Kinsale, he had always carefully avoided committing himself irrevocably to any action in the field. Before that he attacked only when he could keep absolute control of the situation and could draw off his men at any moment that he desired. We have seen him acting thus at Clontibret, and he repeated the tactics of that battle again and again—for example, at the Yellow Ford and elsewhere.[2] At Kinsale, however, he had no such control. He had no control, in the first place, over the Spaniards in the town, whose assistance he might count upon but could not compel; and, in so far as ability to retire at will in adverse circumstances was concerned, he had little control over his own men.

The stature of a general who for good reason makes a rule of not fighting save when he can be sure of success is not by that practice in any way diminished, provided always that he retains the power of acting differently if changed circumstances demand it. Circumstances do change. There are occasions when grand gestures in the face of great odds can alone revive the flagging moral of an army or redeem the soul of a nation; and, these apart, no war was ever won merely by facility in withdrawing from the field at the right time.

The whole end of military strategy is to bring about an encounter with one's enemy in circumstances in which one possesses every advantage —every advantage of ground, of numbers, of armament, of supplies, and so on—and, having done so, to crush him. If the exercise of caution, even throughout years of campaigning, is necessary to bring about that end, then caution is abundantly justified, and the general who reaps such a reward by reason of his exercise of it is more worthy of praise than he who steps by a succession of lucky strokes into the position of victor. To allow fear of untoward consequences to direct all one's actions is to misuse caution, but caution rightly used can establish the reputation of a leader.

How, in this analysis, does Tyrone stand? Clearly his cautious methods down to the end of 1601 cannot be condemned. The question

[1] For Part I, " The Battle of Clontibret," see June issue.

[2] See " The Battle of Clontibret, 1595," *Studies*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 158 ff.

is, had he, through the years, retained the power to put caution aside and—all-important corollary—did he hold his army so well in hand that they could, when necessary, pass over to a line of action to which they were so far unaccustomed? That is the test of his true greatness as a general. And he was put to that test at Kinsale.

## II

There were four main reasons for the Irish success in the years preceding 1601. First there was the fact of the Earl's leadership. As a soldier, leading an Irish army in the Irish cause, Hugh O'Neill has only one superior. That is Owen Roe. And the Earl was a politician too, a better politician than he was a soldier and a far better one than his nephew. Secondly, the Irish had a worthy cause for which to fight. The war was the greatest, as it was the last, effort of the old Irish institutional system to stave off being swamped by the centralised administration of England. And although so far there had been scarcely any persecution for religion's sake, it was a rally of Catholic against Protestant. There was, in this combination of motives, a cause to be defended such as had not called Irishmen before; in response to it they fought as they had not previously been known to fight.

Thirdly, the Irish had an army worthy to face the new fighting machine that the Queen controlled. New military forces, the national militias, had arisen in the wake of feudalism all over western Europe. The Queen's army, the national militia of England, was the first fully organised English army in the modern sense. Partly volunteer, partly conscript, equipped for the first time with firearms on the contemporary Continental scale, it was a force, in organisation, armament and numbers, infinitely more powerful than earlier sovereigns had disposed of. To oppose it Hugh O'Neill, largely by a transformation of the Irish scheme of bonaght, or the service of billeted men, created a national militia of his own. His army was organised, equipped and trained to a degree hitherto quite unknown in the native Irish areas.

Fourthly, the Irish were successful because they had adopted a method of warfare that perfectly suited their traditions as fighters and the terrain over which they fought; a method, moreover, that fully conformed to the pattern of diplomacy and strategy practised by the Earl and his allies. Without this scheme of conducting their operations, gallant leadership, a good cause and good organisation could not have availed to carry them so far towards victory.

Tyrone's strategy during this whole period up to the date of the battle of Kinsale was purely defensive. The English retained possession of the initiative throughout. The Irish held their ground, awaited attack, and met it when it came. This generalisation is not disturbed by the

facts that they continually raided the English districts or those of English sympathy, that O'Donnell marched into Connacht and the Earl into Munster in 1600, or that successful efforts were made to stir up war in the midlands and the south. At no time did the Irish seek out a main force of the enemy that was not already seeking them, or carrying out an operation of aggression, with intent to attack it. Tyrone hoped by prolonging the struggle to undermine the Queen's resolution to continue the fight and, when this hope receded, to ensure that he was still in the field when foreign help arrived.

We have, in treating of the battle of Clontibret, already spoken of the tactics that he adopted to achieve these ends. Clontibret was a pattern for all his engagements up to 1601, each of which was designed to delay, to harass and to frustrate the intentions of his opponents rather than to crush them.

The late Professor Curtis has decried the tendency to regard Irish warfare as a kind of Red Indian affair of the sudden attack of unorganised forces, appearing in a wild rush out of the forest, striking and slinking away. His subject was an earlier war, but clearly he had in mind what has been written in some quarters of the campaigns of Tyrone. He was very much in the right; for Tyrone's forces were fully organised, and the fact that their battle formation was not that of their enemy does not mean that they had none. On the contrary, formations must have been carefully worked out and training must have been extensive. Ability to discharge a firearm out of an ambush is but a small part of the skill in arms required to defeat a considerable army on the march.

Belittlement of one's opponents is a piece of war propaganda that must be as old as time, and the fact that it has a long history makes it none the less foolish. Thus the " running beast " and his " skipping kerns " that represented Tyrone and his soldiers in the contemporary English effort at belittlement can be shown to have followed a set programme that was fully justified by results. Its essentials were: Do not commit your force; that is, do not involve yourself in a fight that you cannot relinquish at will. Attack when, by reason of the nature of the terrain, your enemy has the least chance of deploying in time to meet you. Feel for a weak place by attacks all along a column; when you find it, push in; if resistance hardens, draw off.

The shock that the administration suffered at Clontibret and in other engagements under O'Donnell and Maguire, together with their unpreparedness and disinclination for a general war, enabled the Earl to fight during 1596 with the weapons of diplomacy and to secure for himself a succession of advantageous truces. In 1597 he was strong enough to resist direct attack. In 1598 he won his greatest victory of all, when Bagenal, having failed to learn the lesson of Clontibret, marched to his

destruction at the Yellow Ford. This tale of success was continued during 1599 and 1600.

By then the Queen's ire had been thoroughly aroused; the reality of the Irish war as a desperate struggle with a skilful enemy had been brought home to Englishmen; and for the first time we hear of a determination to " wade through seas of Irish blood " to enforce English dominion here. In 1600 came Mountjoy, the best general of the war, who profited by the mistakes of his predecessors and under whose direction, and for the first time, the power and resources of England were fully deployed against the Irish. At this stage the Irish recipe for victory began to weaken in its effect. Mountjoy was much too wise to be another Burgh or another Essex, and against a leader of imagination there was no opportunity of further Clontibrets.

It must have been clear in 1601 that, if help was not forthcoming from outside and if the Queen lived long enough to see Mountjoy's plan carried through, Tyrone must in the long run be defeated by the overpowering weight of Mountjoy's numbers and resources. But when the Spaniards landed, the Earl still remained to be " marched against ". Mountjoy, Carew and Docwra had reduced him from the height of his power, but he was far from being at his last extremity; and Kinsale, as it happened, was more a battle of desperation for the English than it was for the Irish.

The element of chance was not absent from Kinsale, nor can it be said that Tyrone was on that occasion blessed with good fortune; but the day was neither won by chance nor lost by ill luck. Before the Spanish landing Tyrone had won battles by a brilliant process of luring his unimaginative enemy into positions where he could fight with the odds in his favour. He was general enough to know that he must one day fight on other ground and that, in the meantime, he must put forth every effort of organisation and training so that, when that day came, as few as possible of the odds would be against him. Fighting a state so much more powerful than his own confederacy, he realised before long, if he had not realised it from the beginning, that he could not hope single-handed to achieve a final military success; indeed he must, to remain in the field at all, display the utmost caution. But he knew that, when the aid which he and his allies importuned from Spain arrived, he must be ready to second it by an aggressive campaign involving at least the risk of a formal encounter with the enemy.

There are many indications of the Earl's awareness of these facts. He prepared to the best of his ability for the coming of the day when his men, acting in concert with the Spaniards, need no longer pull their punches, but could strike home. He did all that he could to modernise his troops. He trained pikemen. The pike, which was new even in the Queen's army, is essentially a close formation weapon, the chief—

almost the sole—purpose of which in contemporary armies was the provision of solidity, necessary to deliver heavy blows and to resist shock in the pitched battles of formal warfare. When Tyrone was making ready for the march to Kinsale in the early winter of 1601, it was reported of him that he " has cast most of his companies into colours and drums (that is, has given them company colours and drums) according to the English fashion, and hath created officers of the field, as marshal and provost marshal". This was an assumption of the forms designed for manoeuvre in open warfare.

The great generals, renowned for their success in defence, were all of them capable of passing over to the offensive when circumstances demanded it or the time was ripe. Thus Prosper Colonna (died 1523), who earned, as Fabius did, the name of Cunctator and with whom Tyrone has been compared, could, in the end, win the battle of Bicocca ; and Wellington could husband his strength in defence that he might launch it in attack.

A survey of the battle of Kinsale must, however, show that the Earl, for all his greatness as an organiser of warfare, his courage in adversity, his singleness of purpose concealed by a subtlety unusual in an Irishman, proved in the end incapable of combating a crisis that he must have foreseen as inevitable. His advance outside Kinsale involved him and his army in an effort that they were incapable of making. They had not, for all their preparation, mastered the art of a standing fight, shoulder to shoulder, close up to their foes. That was the real reason for their defeat ; and, since a general bears blame as he wins glory, O'Neill must be reckoned to fall short of greatness by the measure of his failure at Kinsale.

## III

Legends gather about battles. A typical explanation of defeat is the story of allies quarrelling about precedence. What has been said of the contention between O'Neill and O'Donnell as to which of them should lead the advance at Kinsale must be strongly suspect of belonging to this category. In the same way, it seems unsafe to make too much of the alleged dispute between the two leaders about the advisability of a postponement of action.

One can well understand that O'Donnell, known to the English as the firebrand of the Ulster alliance, would have wished to attack at once, while O'Neill, from his character, might be expected to have been for delay. But, whatever the Earl may have thought beforehand, he commanded in the battle ; and it would be quite unwarranted, without positive evidence of it, to suppose that he did so half-heartedly. At any rate, O'Donnell's division of the army was the one least engaged. O'Clery,

his apologist, admits that he was not engaged at all until O'Neill had been defeated, which fits in so badly with the tale of his impetuosity that it has to be accounted for by the story of the dispute about precedence and, lest that should not be enough, by the statement that he missed his way in the darkness and so came up late.

The component parts of advancing forces have so often lost touch in night operations that night attacks are notoriously risky affairs. There is no doubt that there was a certain going astray at Kinsale; and the weather, we know, was bad and the season the worst. The separate parts of the Irish force may temporarily have lost touch with one another, and dawn may have found them not quite where they had expected to be; but over reasonably plain country and at such a short distance from their starting-point there can have been no irremediable error of direction or timing. These explanations, that seem so like "explaining away," are as unfair to O'Donnell as they are to Tyrone.

Nor can either of the assertions that the Spaniards in the town failed Tyrone or that Mountjoy defeated the Irish movements because he was forewarned of them explain, of itself, the defeat.

All we know of the arrangements made between Tyrone and the beleaguered garrison indicates that the Irish were to break through to them before they were to move. Indeed the Spaniard Zubiar says that the intention, as far as that night was concerned, was merely to throw a force into the town and that the combined attack on the English was to take place on the following night. The Spaniards may be blamed for failing to create a diversion when the volume of firing showed that the Irish were heavily engaged, but to be blameworthy is not the same as to be treacherous. The firing indicated that the engagement was drawing away from rather than towards them, and it is highly questionable if, contained as they were by Carew, they could have done anything in time to save O'Neill.

The English certainly were forewarned, at least of Tyrone's general intention to come on. It is, however, questionable if surprise could have succeeded on any night about the date of the battle, or that Tyrone could have hoped that it would be complete. Mountjoy was in too tight a corner not to watch anxiously at night; defeat for him would have meant annihilation.

Finally, there is the contention, advanced in modern times, that the whole movement in advance of the Irish was but a feint to alarm the English; that is, that they did not intend to fight at all, but went too far and were caught and had a fight forced upon them.

It is inconceivable that O'Neill did not expect a fight. He had his whole force with him. He was manoeuvring close up to the English lines at a time when they, as their only hope of extricating themselves from a daily worsening position, would jump at a chance of engaging

him. He had no line of retreat secured, such as he invariably had on other occasions when his intention was merely to "feel" the enemy. If he did not intend to fight, he was running a risk the like of which he had never, at any other stage of his career, contemplated.

One should remember always that stories similar to these have been told by the defeated parties of other battles. There is undoubtedly a substratum of truth in most of them, for they touch upon occurrences only to be expected in a series of difficult manoeuvres planned to be executed in the most trying circumstances. On the other hand, one cannot but feel that they were given an added significance after the event. Certainly much of the subsequent use of them is due to an effort to shift the blame for an unexpected and humiliating defeat.

## IV

Kinsale was an engagement that lasted in all its phases no more than about three hours, a battle in which a large force was totally overthrown by a much smaller one—a catastrophe that decided the fate of Ireland and affected all of our subsequent history.

As far as one can say, the Irish intention was, by means of an attack at or immediately before dawn, to place a part of their forces under the walls of the town, where they would meet a force of the besieged. Most of the authorities say that this united body was then to carry the smaller of the two English camps, while the main part of O'Neill's army stormed the main camp of the investment. Zubiar however, as we have seen, alleges that the morning's work was to be limited to reinforcing the Spaniards and that the attack on the camps was to take place on the following night.

The Irish marched early on the morning of December 24th (old style) from their camp at Belgooly in the three traditional divisions of a campaigning force—van, battle and rear. The horse were, as usual, in a separate formation and apparently all together. Tyrrell commanded the van, which consisted of Meath, Munster and Leinster men and the detached Spanish force. This was the force that was to make a junction with the Spanish garrison. The Earl led the battle, which was the strongest formation and was, according to the English, "all Tyrone men". O'Donnell commanded the rear, composed of Tir Connell and Connacht men. The Irish total must have been about 5,000 men.

For the three nights previous to this the English, expecting attack, had held their squadron volant, or flying squadron, in position to resist it. This was Sir Henry Power's regiment of picked men, relieved of all other duties so as to be available in an emergency. Having particular information of the intended attack on this night, Power was in his place. In advance of him were the scouts under Sir Richard Graeme. Mountjoy

and Carew were sitting up in the former's quarters awaiting developments.

It is clear that Tyrone came up late, but not very late, and it is quite likely that he found himself further advanced than he thought he was when he began to recognise his surroundings. He and the English scouts seem to have seen one another about the same time—about half an hour before dawn. He should have been in position to attack then, but his rear had not yet come up and he had not deployed. His force was halted, either to await developments or to allow the remainder to come up, or for both reasons, and his men began to light the matches of their firearms. The English saw this; and the English matches, in turn, betrayed the defending force to the attack.

Mountjoy had begun to think that nothing would happen that night when the alarm reached him. He at once ordered a stand to and went forward with Wingfield, the Marshal, towards the scouts. Each of his units of foot and cavalry had specific duties allotted it: five regiments were to remain in the main camp and four in the smaller one, and three troops of horse were later added to these defensive forces. Thus the greater part of his army, under Carew, watched the Spaniards and acted as general reserve. The remainder, three regiments of foot, Power's, Ffolliot's and St. John's, and most of the horse—a force of some 1,500 foot and 400 or 500 horse—was to confront Tyrone. Mountjoy also selected a position in which to fight if the Irish advanced further, or perhaps we should say that he confirmed an earlier selection of it.

At daybreak the Marshal with about 400 horse and the squadron volant faced the halted Irish about a mile or a mile and a half from Kinsale, rising ground intervening between them. The Sergeant-major, Berkeley, brought up Ffolliot's and St. John's regiments, and the Irish withdrew a little over a stream to a better position. The Marshal sent some horse and some of Power's companies after them and ordered Ffolliot to follow Power. It was here that the firing commenced, the Irish skirmishing as they fell back, but making no serious effort to deny the passage of the stream to the Marshal.

The Irish still retired, moving quickly across boggy ground to firm land beyond. This was near White Castle, about two miles from the town, where a stream flows towards the Bandon river. Here their resistance stiffened, and they formed their three divisions of van, battle and rear on the firm ground. O'Donnell with the rear had clearly come up close enough to have contact by this. They left their loose shot to skirmish at the boggy ground and to contest the crossing. The Marshal sent 100 horse and 100 shot to drive these in; but the Irish prevailed, and the English shot were forced back on their own horsemen. A reinforcement of shot was sent in, and the Irish skirmishers, in turn, fell back.

Meanwhile the Marshal, with some of Power's men, had found a

passage across the boggy ground, and he soon brought over some of the horse to the " plain," or firm open ground where the Irish stood. The Irish battle, the Earl's own division, was closest to him, and this Wingfield attempted to charge ; but his cavalry wheeled off to their flank rather than charge home, and the Irish greeted their discomfiture with a great shout.

## V

Up to this, there was no question of the Earl's being in difficulties. His effort at surprise had certainly failed, and he had been made to give ground rather than push on to the rendezvous with the Spaniards ; but his skirmishers had behaved with their usual skill, he was deployed in a position in which, when the English attacked him, they would have boggy ground in their rear, and he had a local superiority in numbers. Short of the one defect that became apparent presently, that his three battles were too widely separated, it cannot be said that his position was bad.

But then began the deluge. The remainder of the English horse came up ; and the Irish cavalry, which was about as strong as the English, began to show fright. There is no record of the Irish horsemen having contributed anything serious to the battle up to this ; and, save for O'Sullivan, no writer says anything of them, unless that they brought up the rear when the Irish drew back, until it is recorded that they turned tail and left the field. If they had simply ridden off, it would be bad enough ; but they fell in on the Irish battle on the way and disordered the ranks.

The Marshal, concentrating his attention on the battle, attacked it from the rear with his reinforced cavalry and, apparently in front, with the foot. Already disordered by their own horse, whose flight further disheartened them, and disturbed by the accidental explosion in their midst of a bag of gunpowder, the formation of the battle was broken in upon. There followed a short, sharp fight, and then a sudden streaming off of fugitives with the English horse hacking and goading them as they went.

This was the beginning of the end. The day, within what must have been a very short space of time, was lost ; and fortune, that had hitherto uniformly smiled on the Earl, deserted him utterly.

Tyrrell with the vanguard was formed at some distance to the left of the battle. The battle made the right of the Irish line, the van the centre, and the rear, further off, the left wing. The rear, O'Donnell's division, the last to come up and probably still in motion, was not confronted by any English force. The van was, however ; for while Power's and Ffolliot's regiments were moving to attack the battle, St. John's regiment (forming the English rear) was posted opposite Tyrrell

within caliver shot—that is, about 80 yards. Roe, who commanded in St. John's absence, was instructed to stand firm and to await orders.

Tyrrell did not move until the battle was broken. All the indications are that the battle stood for only a very short time. When it began to stream away to the rear, Tyrrell put the vanguard in motion to his right and moved to interpose himself between the pursuers and the main body of English foot. Mountjoy at once ordered Roe to charge; and the regiment, moving forward, fell on Tyrrell in flank as he passed across their front. Tyrrell's men, although they were disordered, do not appear to have been very roughly handled; but they, too, drew off, marching to the top of a hill, whence the greater part of them soon decamped. The Spaniards who were with them made a stand, were caught by the pursuing horse, and suffered considerable loss before they surrendered.

Thus were two of the three Irish divisions dispersed. O'Donnell with the rear, who is described as vainly exhorting such fugitives as came his way to reform and to face about, was only very slightly engaged, and seemingly not at all by the English foot. The sight of more than two-thirds of their army in retreat and the English troopers cutting down the fugitives at will all over the field was too much for the Donegal and Connacht men. They too marched off.

## VI

Considered objectively, the Irish movements were at best unfortunate, at the worst clumsy. Aside from the fault in disposition that placed the three bodies too widely apart—and the troubles of the approach march may have accounted for some, at least, of this—the horse made no serious effort to play their part and to take on the English horse. The formed bodies of foot did not charge, perhaps because the enemy's horse had been allowed to establish superiority at the outset: a matter which was certainly ironical, for if the fight had been postponed for a few days Mountjoy would have had to send them off meanwhile to Cork for want of forage. The van moved in to second the battle too late, and by a risky flank movement that met with its own punishment. The three bodies allowed themselves to be dispersed piecemeal; just as no effective attempt was made by one to support another in the early stage, no effort seems to have been made by one to retreat on another when repulsed.

The Irish had assumed the trappings of the contemporary campaigning force, but the practice was not theirs. Hitherto when they retired they retired where they could not be pursued, and to a place whence they could, and did, strike again. And so when the enemy got in their rear and on their flank, as they themselves had so often surrounded the marching armies of the Queen, not all the training that the Earl had been able to give them nor all the enthusiasm that he had breathed into them could

avail to serve them. They were called upon to fight in squares, massive squares after the Spanish fashion, where the rule was to stand firm, to see themselves surrounded with indifference, to be fired into and to fill up the gaps, but always to stand. Only rigid and formal discipline—whether founded on fear, on the mere habitual reactions of stolid unreasoning troops, on pride or on patriotism—discipline the result of long training and long experience could make men behave as good soldiers in these circumstances. The discipline and training of the Irish were not of that kind.

Nor was Tyrone himself capable, at that moment when it was as though all Ireland stood watching, his allies to put forth further exertions, the lukewarm or wary masses to incline to the side of victory, of ensuring that an outmoded caution was thrown aside and the last blow struck for the cause. It was a hard fate that the Irish memory of former successes and the methods by which they were gained should operate to ensure for the English the winning of one battle in the war, and that the last one.[1]

G. A. Hayes-McCoy

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[1] The authorities principally relied upon for this account of the battle are :—Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1601-03, pp. 240-42. Carew Calendar, III, pp. 191-94. *Pacata Hibernia.* Moryson, *Itinerary.* Mountjoy's report in *Trevelyan Papers,* II, pp. 104-06. Four Masters. O'Clery. O'Sullivan (in Byrne, *Ireland Under Elizabeth*), pp. 146 f. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donel,* pp. 530 ff. The campaign is treated in Jones, " The Spaniards and Kinsale, 1601 " (*Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff). It is possible that further information on the position of the Spaniards may come to light when the documents surviving in Spain have been examined. Microfilms of those of Irish interest in Simancas are now available in the National Library of Ireland. I have discounted, on the grounds of improbability and lack of support by other authorities, O'Sullivan's statement regarding a mock battle staged earlier in the night by the English to deceive the Spaniards and his assertion that O'Donnell led the Irish horse. A reexamination of the evidence has led me to modify the statement (made in *Irish Historical Studies,* II, p. 278) that the withdrawal of the Irish so that they might gain time and ground to form their line was the immediate cause of the loss of the battle. There is no doubt that the withdrawal had a bad effect on Tyrone's force ; but the immediate cause of defeat was the failure of the main battle to stand up to Wingfield and Power.

# HOW EGYPT SOLVES ITS LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

BY REV. A. B. O'SHEA, S.M.A.

IRELAND is not the only country which has a language problem to solve. Egypt, for example, is busily engaged in solving her own language question ; and a study of the methods used and (more important still) of the firmness of purpose underlying whatsoever methods are in current use, may not be without interest to Irish readers. For side by side with recent national and political movements in Egypt, which have as their goal the establishment of Egypt as a completely sovereign and independent State, has marched a determined effort to make classical Arabic the cultural and commercial language of the land.

The methods used to achieve this object have enjoyed, from the start, a modest but readily perceptible measure of success, and the attainment of complete success seems to be assured within the next decade. At first sight it may seem rather startling to read that Egypt should have found it necessary to make a determined effort to establish Arabic as the dominant language of culture and commerce. Are not Arabs the inhabitants of Egypt, and surely Arabs speak Arabic? The answer to that question is " Yes and No ". To present a picture of the difficulties which face those Egyptians who passionately demand that classical Arabic shall take its rightful place in national affairs, it will be necessary to say something concerning (1) the mass of the native population of Egypt and (2) the " Foreign Groups ".

Of the estimated eighteen million inhabitants of Egypt perhaps fifteen millions are illiterate. They speak a debased form of Arabic, a " Kitchen Arabic ", with a small vocabulary, a simplified grammar, and a large number of words which have no similarity with the words of literary or classical Arabic. Literary Arabic is an extremely difficult language. One authority flatly states : " Of all the languages in the world, not even excepting Chinese, Arabic is the most difficult ". Some idea of its complexity may be gained from the fact that there are, in effect, two alphabets—the shape of a letter changing according to its position in a word. Also, Arabic verbs have no roots in the true sense. As well as adding prefixes and suffixes, they change internally. As a rule only the consonants are written, the contained vowels being indicated by dots placed above or below the consonants. Again, the standard of classical Arabic is the Koran. It is admitted by scholars that the Koran contains grammatical errors. But pious Moslems refuse to admit any errors, even grammatical ones, in the Koran. They blandly declare that the " apparent error " is really the rule and that all words that differ from the " rule " are " exceptions "—to be learnt by heart! Add to all this

the extraordinary richness of the vocabulary of classical Arabic. I have been told that there are *seventeen* ways of saying " I do not understand ", the form used varying according to the social rank of the speaker and of the person whom he is addressing.

To bring literary Arabic to the illiterate mass of the population a novel method has been adopted. In every village, in every factory, a teacher has been appointed who gives lessons during the lunch hour or in the evenings. I believe, though I am open to correction here, that the salaries of these teachers are paid, not by the State, but by the factory owners or by the village headmen or by wealthy and patriotic citizens.

Now let us consider the question of the Foreign Groups. And here it is necessary to bear in mind the enormous and ever increasing importance of Cairo in Egyptian affairs. Not only is Cairo the capital city and the seat of Government, but it tends to attract to itself, magnet-like, every thing and every person of importance in the country. Alexandria offers a certain amount of competition, but it is over-shadowed by the rapidly increasing Capital. In the eyes of the budding politician, the professional man, the civil servant, the undergraduate, the people of the country towns, Cairo beckons as the modern Mecca—the centre of wealth, of opportunity, of fame, of civilization. And in Cairo, and to a lesser extent in Alexandria, is concentrated the strength of Egypt's foreign population.

Cairo must be one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. The population of this city increased during the war to about two millions. I say " about ", for population statistics are misleading as a fair number of births are never registered. This is a legacy from the days of Turkish rule and arose from a desire to escape being called up for compulsory military service. The majority of Cairenes are native Egyptians, Arabs and Copts. Before the war there were about 50,000 Italians in Egypt, almost as many Greeks, and perhaps 10,000 French subjects and the same number of British subjects ; to these must be added Jews, Armenians, Russians, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, and representatives of every nation in Europe and the Middle East. Most of these foreigners live in Cairo or in Alexandria ; and they control a large part, perhaps most, of Egypt's industry and export trade. Bars, cafes, the provision trade are almost exclusively controlled by Greeks ; the Italians are to be found in all branches of commerce and industry and in all professions, as are the Jews and the French. The Jews in particular are pre-eminent in the learned professions—lawyers, doctors, dentists, engineers. The cotton of Egypt attracted a fair number of Englishmen. I should, perhaps, make it clear that " foreigners " is hardly the correct term to apply to many of the Italians, Greeks and Jews ; for the forbears of many of these peoples have lived for generations in Egypt and their present-day descendants would prefer the term " local subjects ".

A feature of the foreign groups in Egypt is their community organiza-

tions. Take, for example, the Greeks of Cairo. They elect from among themselves a community council whose function it is to guide and control the cultural and charitable activities of all Greeks in the city. They publish their own Greek newspapers, organize and equip their own sports clubs for their youth, build and equip community recreation centres, support their own hospital, and build magnificent schools wherein Greek-speaking children are taught by Greeks through the medium of the Greek language. The Greek schools are, in the magnificence of their design and their lavish equipment, the finest I have ever seen. The other groups follow suit, the Jews in particular being very well organized. Practically all of Cairo's European residents, if they fall ill, go to the Greek hospital or the Italian hospital or the Jewish hospital. And European children are invariably educated in the schools of the European communities.

The French, however, are in an exceptional position. While not so numerous as the Italians or the Greeks, nor so wealthy as the Jews, they surpass in the number of their schools and in the number of pupils attending these schools all other foreign groups combined. This predominant position is due to the labours of French Religious—men and women. The French De La Salle Brothers conduct scores of schools for boys ; numerous Congregations of French nuns cater for the education of girls. One school alone in Alexandria, conducted by French Brothers, was designed for 2,000 pupils. The French Jesuit school in the centre of Cairo had 1,700 pupils when I was in that city a few years ago.

So excellent and so highly esteemed are these French schools that they attract large numbers of students from other foreign groups, and especially from the native Egyptian population. Quite a few of the leading Egyptian politicians, industrialists, and wealthy landowners were educated in these French schools—especially in the Jesuit school in Cairo. It will be readily understood then that French is the second language of Egypt. Indeed, practically all educated people in Egypt can, and often do, speak French. French newspapers, printed locally, are widely read ; some cinemas specialize in films in French ; notices in shop windows, in hotels, on public vehicles, etc. are in French.

English secondary schools are not so numerous. There are not, I suppose, more than a dozen such schools for boys in the whole country. And the number of school-boys whose parents are natives of Great Britain probably does not exceed two hundred. The Italian-speaking Maltese and the Greek-speaking Cypriots are, however, British subjects. But English as a commercial language has an importance.

From 1940 to 1946 I lived in Cairo, apart from an interval of six months during which I was stationed in Alexandria. During those six years I was engaged in teaching in various schools in which the medium of instruction was English. A feature of all foreign schools in Egypt is the fact that while one language is the principal medium of instruction—

English, French, or Greek, as the case may be—*all* foreign schools, in recent years, teach at least two other languages. For example, the English schools in which I taught used, naturally, the English language as the principal medium of instruction. The boys were prepared for the London Matriculation Examination. But French and Arabic were also taught. And the German Convent schools went one better by including four languages in their programme—German, French, Arabic, English—compulsory for *all* students. One reason for this polyglottism is the fact that, for the sons of business men and for boys who intend to embrace a professional career, a working knowledge of at least three languages is almost indispensable. Consequently, the custom has developed that a boy often receives his early education in, say, a French school, and finishes his education in an English school ; or *vice versa*. This is especially the case as regards Jewish boys. In general, the home language of Jewish boys in Egypt is French. And Jewish boys, as a rule, attend French schools until they are aged eleven or so. By that time they have a good knowledge of French—as good, say, as the knowledge of English possessed by Irish boys of the same age attending a secondary school in this country. They also have a workable knowledge of English and Arabic, since both these languages are taught in French schools. Coming to an English school then, they find no insuperable difficulty in perfecting their English ; and by the time they are of age to sit for the London Matriculation English presents no terrors to them. And as they have been taught Arabic during all their school days, they leave school with at least a fair knowledge of that language.

The position is rather more complex when a boy of much younger age enters a school the principal language of which is not that of his home. In one school in which I taught, I remember a Junior Form in which I counted ten nationalities : Maltese, Greeks, English, Egyptians, French-speaking Jews, Greek-speaking Jews, Italians, Cypriots, even a Turk and an Irish boy. And not one of these boys, I suppose, was more than six years old. With such a polyglot class the prime necessity was to establish some ability in speaking English. Consequently, a sort of " basic " English was evolved. Using French, Arabic and Italian freely for purposes of explanation and illustration, these little boys were taught two or three dozen of the most useful verbs. A list of the most useful words, mostly nouns, was compiled and these were learnt by heart. At this stage no attempt was made to teach writing or spelling ; nor were niceties of grammar insisted upon, provided that the sentences and phrases were reasonably intelligible. Thus, in a matter of weeks, a workable knowledge of verbs and nouns was imparted.

It was a regulation of the school that only English should be used during playtime. These younger boys had ample time for play, and without any stress or conscious effort they rapidly learnt to use what words they

already possessed and began to acquire new ones. A favourite pastime of the smaller boys was playing marbles. And if one little boy pointed at his marble and announced firmly " mine ", then his playmate would very soon point at *his* marble and declare equally firmly " mine ". So their vocabulary grew. Indeed, the rapidity with which these little boys gained a working knowledge of English was a source of wonder to me. And as their vocabulary increased, reading and writing were introduced and errors of grammar and pronunciation were gradually eliminated. But for the first year, and especially in the case of the very young boys, the primary object was to get them to use habitually whatever English they knew and to use it without shyness or hesitation.

However, the rising tide of national consciousness, so noticeable in Egypt in recent years, reacts against finding classical Arabic being merely on a par, for cultural and commercial purposes, with English or even with French. Ardent young Egyptians are determined that Arabic shall be the dominant cultural and commercial language of the country. To establish this predominance of literary Arabic the policy adopted might be described as one of polite persistence or firm suavity.

A start was made with the " foreign " schools. While these schools have always taught Arabic as a " subject ", the Government is pressing for a more extensive use of the language. In particular, it is endeavouring to obtain that Egyptian history and geography shall be taught—and shall be taught through Arabic. Secondly, the Government passed a decree that all commercial firms in Egypt must keep their trading accounts in Arabic. Foreign firms are quite free, of course, to keep a second set of books in any other language, but the " official " books, so to speak, must be in Arabic. Thirdly, Government departments issue all their correspondence in Arabic and refuse to accept any letters addressed to them unless they are written in Arabic.

Fourthly, it is decreed that all names over shop fronts, all display cards in shop windows, all tram tickets etc., shall be in Arabic. A merchant may put up his name over his shop in any foreign language—plus Arabic ; display cards in shop windows may be printed in any foreign language—plus Arabic ; and tram tickets are printed in French—plus Arabic. Their is no objection to bilingualism, at least for the time being. Indeed, French is taught as a subject in the National Schools. Use Arabic first and, after that, any other language you like ; that is the policy. But Arabic, definitely, holds the place of honour.

Finally, the cinema : the inhabitants of Egypt share with the inhabitants of other countries a decided liking for the cinema. Most of the films shown are from Hollywood, with Arabic and French " dubbed on ". To encourage and foster a native film industry (and incidentally to foster the Arabic language and Egyptian national consciousness) the Government established the Egyptian Film Company. The studios of this company

are situated outside Cairo, near the Great Pyramids. To give the company the necessary protection the Government (I was informed) ordered that a definite proportion of the films rented yearly by every cinema in the country should consist of films made in Egypt. If I remember correctly, the proportion was 8 per cent. Thus for four weeks in the year, all at once or at intervals, every cinema should show Egyptian films. Of course, if a cinema pays for its quota of Egyptian films it is free to show them or not. But it pays for its quota, and so the native film industry survives and flourishes. The Egyptian Film Company built its own cinema in the heart of Cairo ; and in this cinema all the films shown are in Arabic, all the actors are Egyptians, and all the themes are of Egyptian origin or interest. While I never witnessed a full-length Arabic film, I did see some " news shorts " and found little difficulty in understanding what was being shown on the screen.

At first sight it might appear that, apart from the obvious value of Arabic propaganda by means of the cinema, the methods adopted to make classical Arabic the cultural language of the country are uninspired and mediocre. That is because the supporters of the language rely much more strongly on the psychological effects of the methods used than on the mere mechanical application of any given methods. An Egyptian lawyer gave me the following outline of policy :—

" We do not pin our faith to any given methods ; we rely on the psychological effect. Broadly speaking, we may divide the people of the cities and the towns into adults of 30 or more years and the younger people—including those who are at school and the University. I speak of the educated people of the towns, both Egyptians and Europeans, because what these people do the country people will also do. Very well, then. As regards the older people, the fathers and mothers of growing families, we know very well that if already they do not know literary Arabic, they are now past the age to learn. From them we look rather for encouragement, that they will encourage their children. Consider the case of a man who has to communicate with Government Departments on matters connected with his business or private affairs. If he does not know Arabic, what must he do ? He must get an employee or one of his children of secondary school age to write his letters for him. Thus he sees the importance of being proficient in Arabic. So he will encourage his children to study the language ; and even if his children attend foreign schools he will, in many cases, obtain extra tuition in Arabic for them. And thus the children are encouraged by their parents to study the language, and that is what we desire.

" But it is on the youth that we rely. On our young people at the secondary schools and the University, whom we encourage to speak Arabic everywhere—especially in the streets and in the shops. The

young, my friend, are ardent and patriotic, but they are also diffident and self-conscious. They need encouragement. So when they are encouraged by their parents and elders, when they see Arabic in the shop windows, when they see the advertisements that cover the walls and hoardings written in Arabic, when they see Arabic everywhere—in the cinemas, in the cafés, in every street wherein they walk—then they will begin to speak the language freely and without shyness. When that time comes, Arabic will be indisputably the dominant language of the country ".

That this process of " encouragement ", rather than one of stern command, was bearing fruit was clear to me before I left Egypt. I knew many boys of European stock—Jews, Greeks, French—whose parents had arranged for them to receive extra private lessons in Arabic. And even in the shops there was a slight but definite change. When I first arrived in Egypt and visited one of the larger stores to do my shopping, the assistants who attended me invariably addressed me in French. But towards the end of my sojourn I found that quite often the assistant spoke to me first in Arabic. When I smilingly regretted my inability to speak Arabic with any fluency, the assistant would at once courteously turn to French and supply me with my needs. A small point, one may be inclined to think, but consider the effect on a young student. Addressed in Arabic, he or she would undoubtedly reply in the same language. Thus what my lawyer friend had called the " psychological effect " would come into play, and his aim " that literary Arabic should become the language of the streets and of the shops " would be achieved.

A. B. O'Shea

# ORIGINS OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

BY CHARLES O'CONOR, S.J.

THE history of Irish scholarship in the eighteenth century has still in large part to be told. There were undoubtedly many Irishmen in that century who manifested a genuine interest in Irish antiquities, but the political and social disorders of the country placed them at a great disadvantege as compared with the more happy position of scholars in other European countries. A very summary account of these difficulties will be found in the preface to the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* (1787). In his recent work, *The Volunteer Earl*, Mr. Maurice Craigh has told anew the story of the Academy's foundation, enlarging on the brief account given by Hardy in his *Life of Lord Charlemont* (1810).[1] Lord Charlemont was the Academy's first President, and he held this position for some fourteen years until his death in 1799. Hardy's brief narrative has been repeated, with some minor variations, by various scholars in the past hundred years.[2] I shall here attempt to throw new light on these first ventures, printing for the first time some letters which passed between a group of Irishmen who were interested in various projects of this kind in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The establishment of the Royal Irish Academy in 1785 was not due to any sudden impulse or inspiration. The new Academy supplied a long felt need. As Miss Constantia Maxwell remarks in her *Dublin under the Georges*, the surprise was really not that the Academy should have appeared in 1785, but that it had not appeared a good deal earlier. But Miss Maxwell does not mention either the abortive efforts of William Molyneux in the seventeenth century, which were brought to naught by the wars that followed the accession of James II, or two other attempts at organised historical and antiquarian research which were made in the eighteenth century.[3] I propose to give a brief account of the latter two efforts and add some new materials to the early history of the Royal Irish Academy.

Among those familiar with Irish manuscripts there will be few who are not acquainted with the name of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare. In his time this native Irish historian and antiquarian passed a very considerable number of Irish manuscripts through his hands, and he has often left traces of his perusal behind him in a series of marginalia suggested to him by the story which the manuscripts themselves had to tell or by the politics of the day or, even sometimes, by the state of the weather. These marginal notes are familiar to many Irish scholars.

[1] The footnotes will be found at the end of the article.

Few of them, however, knew the extent to which Charles O'Conor was associated with other Irish antiquarians in repeated endeavours to organise some scheme for collecting, preserving and making available for research-work the pitifully few Irish manuscripts which had survived the wars and depredations of the past two centuries.

In two essays which were printed in *Studies* fifteen years ago the educational groundwork was sketched upon which Charles O'Conor's scholarship was built, and some insight was thus given into the manner of his initiation into the secrets locked away in the pages of the old Irish texts.[4] It was an initiation which bore plentiful fruit as years advanced. The love of these studies remained with Charles O'Conor throughout his long life and induced him to dedicate to historical research whatever leisure moments could be spared from many other exacting preoccupations.

Charles O'Conor's busy life was contained neatly within the limits of the eighteenth century. He was born in 1710 and died in 1790. He was a Catholic by birth and conviction in an age when the first measure of every man's stature was his membership or not of the Established Church. There was thus at first little active part that he could take in the promotion of the antiquarian interests which were so close to his heart. On 14 April 1744 a meeting was held in " the Lords' Committee Room of the Parliament House " at which a group of gentlemen, with Lord Southwell at their head, determined to constitute themselves a Society for the safeguard and rescue of ' manuscripts, rare printed tracts or books and natural curiosities relating to Ireland '.[5] At the time Charles O'Conor could do no more than rejoice in secret. Some years later, when publishing his *Dissertations on the History of Ireland* (1753), he paid a tribute to this enterprise in his preface and dedicated his work to its president.

This society which met for the first time in 1744 assumed the name of *The Physico-Historical Society*. It seems to have been the first attempt in the eighteenth century to found a specific antiquarian society, as distinct from any groups of private individuals who may have come together on occasion to discuss historical interests in common. The best printed account of the activities of this Physico-Historical Society is to be found in Berry's *History of the Royal Dublin Society* and, in a rather lengthy note, in Warburton's *History of the City of Dublin*.[6] Between them they give a succinct account of the Society's foundation, its comparatively short life, wide horizons and genuine if restricted achievements. For all its early promise and the patronage of the ' first men of the nation ' which it enjoyed, the well meant labours of the *Physico-Historical Society* came to an end after no long interval. The latest entry in its Minute Book bears the date 22 March 1752. Whether the meeting here noted was the last ever convened must remain an open question. There is certainly no such suggestion in the minutes of the meeting itself; and

to judge by the Dedication in Charles O'Conor's *Dissertations* there may well have been later meetings of which we have no record. That this March meeting, whether the last of its kind or not, was far from inspiring is certain. The Bishop of Meath presided. Five other members were present, two of whom were there primarily to report to the Society upon the manner in which they were carrying out certain work that had been entrusted to them. It may well have been that O'Conor's dedication of the *Dissertations* was less a tribute to an existing Society than an artful attempt to revive interest in a body which was defunct in all but a name.

A very considerable interval intervened between the collapse of this passing effort and the next essay in the same direction. Meanwhile Charles O'Conor had built up for himself a high reputation as scholar and writer, and he now enjoyed the intimate friendship of the foremost students of Irish history. His religion still debarred him from appearing too conspicuously in public, but he fostered the good-will of his friends in private and was kept informed of their programme and plans. Shortly after 1760 he came to be accepted amongst those who were welcomed round George Faulkner's hospitable table in Essex Street, where many a distinguished gathering of politicians and patrons of literature and history came together. Here at an early date he made the acquaintance of Dr. Francis Sullivan, a Fellow of Trinity College and Member of the Royal Dublin Society, as well as a keen collector of Irish law tracts and an interested student of Irish antiquities. After this friendship had to some extent matured, O'Conor thought well to suggest that perhaps at Dr. Sullivan's instance the Dublin Society might be prevailed upon to do something in the cause of Irish history and the preservation of Irish manuscript remains of the past. Several letters dealing with this topic are still extant—including a letter, or more correctly a copy of a letter, from O'Conor to Dr. Sullivan himself.

That the letter might gain in influence by the hand which presented it, Charles O'Conor forwarded his scheme through George Faulkner to whom he addressed a suitable covering letter. So much we learn from a further letter to Dr. Curry in which all the moves in the game are disclosed :[7]

O'Conor—Dr. Curry. 23 July 1763

. . . 'I presumed to write to Dr Sullivan, proposing to him the publication of the Annals of the Four Masters together with other old valuable fragments in his hands and mine. . . . . As an idea that such a work might be encouraged by the subscriptions of our Nobility and Gentry would be a very visionary one, I hinted to the Dr that probably, through his influence and solicitation, the Dublin Society might be brought to set aside a part of their fund for promoting so valuable an Acquisition to modern literature. Whether he will dislike or improve such a hint, we shall soon know. To prevent miscarriage I enclosed the letter to him

in another to Mr. Faulkner. It would be strange (at first view) if the Dublin Society should put a slight on such a scheme, and yet I confess that my hopes carry me but a short way.'

The proposition itself was set forth in the following[8] (undated) letter :—

O'CONOR—DR. FRANCIS SULLIVAN

" Irish history and Literature beginning at present to gain so much attention at home and abroad, a person so well skilled in both as you are ought certainly to contribute to this branch of useful knowledge. It is a subject hardly yet attempted and could I have the merit of prevailing with you to withdraw some hours from your severer studies and devote them to this, it would I think be the best service I could render the Public.

To lay the foundations for this the Annals of the Four Masters, together with other valuable fragments in your hands and in mine, ought to be printed accurately. Hereby the Classical language of the ancient Scots would be preserved. Many curious facts relative to the Politics and Manners of the Nation would be preserved also. All would be lost if these manuscripts were burned or otherwise destroyed.

Such a work would probably be brought within the compass of three volumes large quarto and yet, as the generality of our people have hitherto despised and still despise all undertakings on this subject, plain it is that little could be obtained in the way of subscription to forward it. I see but one remedy for the evil, to engage the Dublin Society to lay aside part of their fund for promoting this branch of knowledge. £500 would probably complete it, an expense which surely men of their spirit must deem a trifle when balanced with the honour it would derive to their country, not to mention the utility of such a work in bringing to light some important parts of literature which have hitherto lain in the shade.

If through your sollicitation such an expense were assented to, Malone or Perry should be employed to cast a handsome Irish type, of which I could give him a good cut. But I decline saying any more when I know that the hint I have given is to you sufficient. I am so accustomed to think such an undertaking desperate and impracticable that my hopes lead me but a short way."

Subsequent letters to Dr. Curry show how matters progressed. Dr. Sullivan took the suggestion well—and admitted that he had had a very similar idea in mind himself. He urged that Charles O'Conor should come to Dublin at once to go into the plan in more detail and assist in drawing up some sort of public announcement to stir up enthusiasm. " I received a polite answer from him," O'Conor writes, " and he readily not only adopted my plan but assured me he had the matter in contemplation a long time . . . . . He thinks that I should go to town immediately that we might draw up such a plan relatively to this undertaking as would prejudice Men of rank and spirit here in its favour . . . . . "[9] O'Conor seems to have felt that Dr. Sullivan was in reality quite capable of drawing up the scheme himself—not to say quite anxious to do so. At the moment he was too preoccupied to leave home, but promised himself a visit to the city later on. Several other letters on the matter passed between Dublin and Balanagare. O'Conor made a present of some old MSS. to

Sullivan—or at least sent some for his inspection. As the correspondence went on, however, O'Conor became more pessimistic, until by the end of September he had reached the conclusion that nothing was likely to come of it all. The projected publication of material was a ' chimerical idea ' ; neither he nor Dr. Sullivan were likely ever to prevail with the ' modern Gentry ' of the times to come to the rescue of any part even of what remained of that Irish literature, ' doomed ' as it seemed to ' universal destruction '.[10]

The experience of a long period of years had been too disheartening to justify any more sanguine hopes, and these gloomy forebodings proved to be only too well founded. Death very soon cut short all Dr. Sullivan's plans and threw everything back once more into the melting-pot.[11] But all the ground that had been gained was not wholly lost. About this time another figure appears on the stage, whose interest was destined to exercise a growing influence on the course of Irish antiquarian research for the remainder of the century. This was Colonel Charles Vallancey. Many of the theories expounded by Vallancey were, no doubt, fanciful in the extreme ; but for all that one feels that he has deserved better of posterity than is sometimes allowed to him. He seems to have taken up the trail of investigation where Dr. Sullivan had left off. Though not attached to Trinity College—he was attached to an Army engineering corps—he was already a member of the Dublin Society and was eager to engage the Society's patronage and interest in the cause of Irish historical research. The idea of publishing interesting historical records appealed to him, and in 1770 he produced the first number of a series entitled *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*. In it he claimed that he was offering to the public ' the fruit of many years researches '. His ambition was to ' leave no material subject relating to Ireland undiscussed ' in his pages ; and he looked forward to the compilation of ' a compleat Irish historical library ' or schedule of ' all manuscripts and printed books that have been written or published on the affairs of Ireland, relating to the State, Church Law, History, Antiquities etc.' of the country.[12]

That Vallancey was at this time in touch with Charles O'Conor is clear from the handsome tribute he pays to him in his Preface to the first number of the *Collectanea*. But the execution of their joint ambitions proved a slow process. As late as 7 March 1772 an anonymous correspondent complains in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal* that, ' while the neighbouring nations have for more than two centuries past laboured to illustrate the history and to investigate the antiquities of their various countries, it has been the peculiar hard fortune of this devoted isle that her antiquities have been overlooked and her Annals totally neglected. Thus the revival of Letters which has expanded such finds of chronological and natural knowledge of other parts of Europe, has only added the disgrace and reproach of Ireland'.

How often, alas, is victory almost within one's grasp when appearances seem to portend nothing but defeat! Little more than two months after this letter had appeared, Vallancey was able to write to Charles O'Conor that the tables seemed at last to be turned.[13]

VALLANCEY—O'CONOR. 14 MAY 1772

Dr Sir,

I have succeeded this day so much beyond my Expectations, I cannot forbear relating what I am sure will be most agreable to you. I have long planned a Society of Irish Antiquarians; but, never having the good fortune to meet with any active being like myself, all my attempts have failed. Several years past, I have annually made a push in the Dublin Society to form a Select Committee from their body under the Title of Antiquarians; this was my object because that Society would give it a Sanction; & the extensive Correspondence they hold would at once introduce us to a foreign correspondence. Sir L. O'Brien & Counsr French, roused by my Rebukes the other day, came this morning to offer their Assistance in the Dublin Society to form this select committee—to be short we have carried our point—appointed Sr Lucius President, or chairman for the first year, & struck a Committee of 10 or 20 learned members forthwith to go to work. As several Gentlemen of learning not Members of the Society would be willing to attend such a Committee, we have opened the Door to them likewise by first obtaining their Admission from the Society—this was debated a considerable time, but at length given up to me without any division. I am now satisfied; it will be my fault if something, to the Honour of the Kingdom, does not in time come forth. I have infused a surprizing degree of Enthusiasm for Irish Antiquities not only in the Gentlemen already mentioned but in Lord Charlemont, the Speaker &c &c.

We are now connected with a Society invested with an ample fund to assist us, & I am promised next Sessions shall allot a particular fund for that purpose; after which I think we must be withdrawn from them & incorporated—at our first meeting, I shall propose to advertise for Irish MSS. . . . . .

I am Dr Sir

Your most obed't afft Servant

Ch Vallancey

May 14. 1772.

With this letter before us it is not hard to understand how Colonel Vallancey came to be described as something of a 'dictator' in the Society.[14] But he worked hard and meant well. He was a member of most of the Society's committees and deserved well of them all. Strangely enough, for all the enthusiasm he manifested in the cause of Irish history and antiquities, his associations with the country had no especially deep roots in its past. His grandfather had been military governor of Calais.[15] His father's name was Le Brun de Valancai. He himself was born in Flanders and educated at Eton. Army service with an engineer corps brought him to Ireland in the late fifties or early sixties of the century. But no sooner there than he began to develop historical interests, make friends and gain influence. His letter to Charles O'Conor was followed

in quick succession by letters from Dr. Leland, the Committee's secretary, and from Sir Lucius O'Brien its chairman. What measure of acquaintance, if any, already existed between Sir Lucius and O'Conor, I cannot say. Leland and himself had been close friends for many years, though to trace the course of the friendship would be to turn aside from the main object of this paper. I give here the full text of these two letters.[16]

### Leland—O'Conor. 24 May 1772

My dear Charles

It is no secret to you that, by the address and assiduity of our friend Majr Vallancey, a Society is formed for the purpose of reviving Irish Literature. The rank and condition of those who have already united, and the zeal which they express, promise very good Effects. They well know your passion & your abilities to promote their purposes. I am therefore desired to inform you, *officially*, that the Select Committee appointed by the Dublin Society for the purpose of enquiring into the antient state of Arts, Literature &c in this kingdom, now meet weekly, and that they request you will do them the honour to cooperate & to correspond with them. They mean this, not only as a mark of their esteem for you, but as an urgent application to you for real assistance. Therefore, my dear friend, turn this matter in your thoughts, & consider how you may serve and advise us. In the mean time you will, at your leisure, return an answer to their application, in such a letter to me as I may read at their board. Tho' they have been pleased to chuse me into their body, yet alas I am no Filea. But I am very truely

My Dear Charles

Your very Affectionate friend and Humble Servant

Th Leland

May 24, 1772.

### Sir Lucius O'Brien—O'Conor. 26 May 1772

Sir,

It is with very great Pleasure I obey those Directions of our Irish Antiquarian Society which give me an Oportunity of Expressing my own private sentiments at the Time that, in their Name, I express the highest Approbation of your successfull Labours to Rescue the antient Reputation of our Common Parent from the Injuries of Time & from the still more Destructive Strokes of Modern Malevolence.

If our Researches shall turn out of any service to the Publick or of any Honour to Ireland ; If by shewing that the Inhabitants of this Island were at all Times Respectable & often the Masters & more often the Instructors of Brittain we can Convince our Neibours that, alltho Providence has at present given them superior strength, yet ought they not to treat the Irish as a Barbarous or a Contemptible People—Earum Rerum omnium vel Imprimis Fructum a nobis O'Connor Repetere prope suo Iure debet ; you have been the first in these Days to stir up this allmost Expiring Name & to Remind our Countrymen that they had venerable Antiquities & an Illustrious History

Let me Request that from Time to Time you will furnish us with such Assistance as you think may Enable us in some Degree to Execute the Task we have taken on ourselves.

& I pray you at all Times to Believe me to be

Your Faithfull & Obliged Humble Servant

Lucius O Brien

Dublin May 26th 1772.

At first all went well. There was a great show of interest and enthusiasm. An Irish scribe was engaged at a salary of five guineas a quarter. A MS. of O'Flaherty's *Ogygia Vindicata* was bought; Charles O'Conor was commissioned to prepare this text for the press; and Chevalier O'Gorman was commissioned to negotiate about some Irish MSS. then kept at the College of the Lombards in Paris. In Dublin Charles O'Conor was welcomed by the members of the Committee with the utmost courtesy and was made an honorary member of the body.[17]

From the first the Committee had been anxious to get in touch with Dr. Carpenter, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin whose reputation as an Irish scholar was well known. Through the good offices of O'Conor, who was one of the Archbishop's closest friends and admirers, they achieved their purpose, and the Archbishop was soon an honorary member of the Committee also[18]. So warm was the reception accorded them both that Charles O'Conor was frankly amazed. Writing to his son Denis,[19] he says :—

CHARLES O'CONOR—DENIS O'CONOR. 9 MARCH 1773

I lately sat with the Committee of Antiquarians and introduced Dr Carpenter to them. He was received with great respect, a revolution in our moral and civil affairs the more extraordinary as in my own days such a man would only be spoke to through the medium of a warrant and constable. I am well, too well perhaps, treated here by the litterati especially, and this day I am to dine with Dr Leland.

SAME TO SAME—16 MARCH 1773

Dr Carpenter and I being elected to the Select Committee, we sat there for the first time last week, the Earl of Moyra in the chair. I was greatly pleased that, on my presenting the Archbishop, great respect was shown him. The Society have entered into resolutions too long to be inserted here, and are to meet again on the 4th of April. I have lately dined at the tables of several of these gentlemen and am greatly obliged to them on the score of civilities.

That the Committee should so rise above the religious prejudices of the time as to include two Catholics amongst its members, one of whom was the Archbishop of Dublin, is a mark of the single-minded zeal by which they were animated. That being so, it is all the more disappointing to find how soon interest began to flag. The eagerness that marked the activities of the first few months soon slackened. By the end of 1773 the outlook was not encouraging. Since the first meeting of 14 May 1772 some 3,000 copies of an appeal to the public in regard to Irish MSS. and other historical documents had been sent out.[20] No more than forty replies—' many of them perfectly trifling '—had been forthcoming. Charles O'Conor had supported the project of the appeal and advised in addition ' that it would be proper to open a correspondence with the

Keepers of public libraries in England and France'. Not that he really expected a very great deal; for, as we have seen, he had no illusions about the degree of interest the public was likely to take in such propaganda.

By the autumn of 1774 the affairs of the Select Committee had reached a sorry pass. In a letter bearing date 3 September 1774 Vallancey notes: "At our last meeting of our little Society, the subscriptions were paid with so much reluctance, I am determined to summon them no more; if I can keep Gorman going for another half year it is the utmost our funds will allow . . ." [21] If Vallancey had reached the stage of thus throwing in his hand, things had certainly gone very far. All that was needed to precipitate final disaster was his withdrawal on business from Dublin. With that the labours of the Antiquarian Committee would seem to have come finally to an end.[22]

The enthusiasm of 1772 was gone, and another ten years were to pass before a new attempt at organisation was made. The initiative upon this occasion came from a different source. The Physico-Historical Society had begun its life in the Lords' Committee Room of the Parliament House; the Antiquarian Committee in the Council Room of the Dublin Society; the Royal Irish Academy, the last and most enduring foundation, had its inaugural meeting in Lord Charlemont's House.

Like its predecessors, the new Academy did not emerge from nothing just overnight. If the Antiquarian Committee of 1772-4 had ceased to function, some of the interest it stirred up survived its own demise. In a letter from Vallancey to Charles O'Conor, written in February 1779, we get a glimpse of what was going on behind the scenes.[23]

VALLANCEY—O'CONOR. 21 FEBRUARY 1779

My dear Sir,

Col. Burton (Teller of the Exchequer) is extremely desirous of reviving our former little Society of Antiquaries; he wishes to be known to you and to have the pleasure of your company at dinner on Wednesday next, with a select few. Can you favour me with a call tomorrow morning about 10 oClock and permit me to introduce you to him? He lives a few doors from me. Is it possible you can be long in town and not call on

Your Sincere & Afft. hum. Servt
Ch. Vallancey

The sequel to this invitation is found in a letter from Charles O'Conor to his son, written seven days later.[24]

CHARLES O'CONOR—DENIS O'CONOR. 27 FEBRUARY 1779

. . . . . Thro' Coll. Valancey's kindness I have been introduced here to a most amiable Gentleman Coll. Burton, a privy Councillor and Teller of the Exchequer. In a Society of learned Antiquarians I have dined at his fine house

in Harcourt place near Merrion Square on Wednesday last. I could not have a happier day, and our conversation rolled chiefly on Irish Antiquities. A plan has been laid for rescuing them from their present obscurity; and could Coll. Burton infuse his own spirit into others, the plan would succeed. He doubtless will meet with obstacles and I am afraid with Disappointment. He made me a present of some scarce Books, and it was in vain that I declined taking his post Chaise to bring me home. He forced me to accept of it attended by two of his servants.

. . . . . .

Pill-lane. Feb. 27. 1779.

This hospitable Colonel Burton was a younger brother of Francis Pierpont Burton, who had been the companion of Lord Charlemont during most of his continental tour some thirty years previously.[25] He was nephew of Lord Conyngham. While not succeeding, as his brother Francis Pierpont did, to any share in his uncle's titles, he succeeded to no small part of the Conyngham property near Slane, Co. Meath. In 1779 he was new to the two offices of Teller of the Exchequer and Privy Councillor, which had been conferred upon him not very long before. How the earlier part of his life had been spent is not easy to discover. He had been for a time in the army, but in 1775 he passed from it to the civil post of Controller of the Barrack Board. He was a member of the Antiquarian Committee of 1772 and is on record as having been present at several of its meetings. This makes his apparent lack of earlier acquaintance with Charles O'Conor all the more difficult to understand. On at least one occasion both their names are to be found amongst those who were present at the same meeting of the Committee, and the attendance at that particular meeting was not especially large. By 1779 Colonel Burton had obviously begun to come into prominence as a notable patron of literary and antiquarian research. It was he who took responsibility for the tour of investigation of the provinces by Gabriel Beranger in 1779 and for the mission in 1778 of Austin Cooper who made sketches of so many places of historical interest.

In 1781 the fifth number of Vallancey's *Collectanea* was dedicated to Burton, with a brief but flattering tribute to his public-spirited work for the promotion of 'the fine Arts and manufactures' in Ireland. The eleventh number of the *Collectanea*, published two years later, is also dedicated to him; but in this second dedication he is referred to as the Right Honourable William Conyngham, President of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society. The change from William Burton to William Conyngham is easily accounted for. In the year 1781 Burton succeeded to part of the Conyngham estates, and one of the conditions of the succession was the assumption of his uncle's family name in place of his own. How he comes to be styled President of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society is not so easy to explain. Apart from one or two fleeting references here and there, nothing very definite regarding this Society would seem to be on record. At best it can hardly have been anything more than an attempted

revival of the Committee of 1772, as Vallancey's letter above would seem to insinuate.[26] Possibly it never had any very definite existence as a body, and the title of President may have amounted to little more than understandable flattery offered by those who enjoyed the Colonel's patronage and who were anxious to secure his continued interest.

This Hibernian Antiquarian Society is certainly the most elusive of all the antiquarian associations I have come across. In the first number of his *Collectanea* (which appeared in 1770) Colonel Vallancey is already named as a member of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society, though from his own letters, as we have seen, no such body was in existence till the middle of 1772. The public denomination of Colonel Burton as President of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society in 1779 does at least signify the persistent desire of Burton, Vallancey and their friends that some such organisation should in fact be set up. This same desire explains the reissue, at the end of the thirteenth number of the *Collectanea* (published in 1784), of the sheet of queries sent out by the Antiquarian Committee in 1773. It was supported by a short note entitled: *Proposals for Collecting Materials for publishing the Ancient and Present State of the Several Counties of Ireland* &c.

What contribution this appeal may have made towards bringing things once again to a head, it is hard to say. By the end of April 1785 a new Society, of which Lord Charlemont was the President and Colonel Conyngham the Treasurer, had come into being: the Irish Academy of Sciences, Polite Literature and Antiquities. In a short time a Royal Patent had been secured, and the new body took its place in Irish life as the Royal Irish Academy, the fine work of which has been maintained now for over one hundred and sixty years.

According to Sir John Gilbert, the Academy represented at the outset the fusion of two lesser bodies which had been functioning at Trinity College for some years previously.[27] The reliability of this statement is open to question. An extant memorandum, in the shape of rather informal minutes of the activities of a group of Fellows of Trinity as well as some professional men, is preserved in the Academy's library; it gives a somewhat different version.[28] According to these notes the group formed itself, on 4 March 1785, into the Neosophical Society, with Dr. Perceval as secretary. The meetings of the Society, at which some member was assigned to read a paper, were held in rotation in the houses of the different members whose duty would appear to have been also to provide dinner for the company. There was no specific president or chairman, but the host of each evening took the chair. After some time a Dr. Kearney communicated to the members Lord Charlemont's approbation of " a scheme for the purpose of establishing in Ireland a Society for the purpose of promoting Science, Literature and Antiquities ". The Neosophists appointed a Committee to apply to a number of

distinguished ' noblemen and gentlemen for their support in the aforesaid scheme '. The application was apparently well received, and in the course of time the first meeting of the new Academy was held at Lord Charlemont's house on 18 April 1785. Its membership embraced all those who had belonged to the Neosophical Society together with many whose names had been on the rolls of the Antiquarian Committee of 1772 : a formidable list of thirty-eight names representative of the most distinguished people in the public life, civil, ecclesiastical and academic of the day. Details of procedure were settled at subsequent meetings and a membership fee of £5 5s. per annum was established.

Upon hearing of this new move, Charles O'Conor at once realized its importance and that he could count upon many friends amongst the members of the new academy. Despite age and infirmity all his old eagerness was aroused. " I return you a thousand thanks for your last letters ", he writes to a friend on May 13th following. " That which gave me the first notice of the establishment of an Irish Academy of Sciences, Belles Lettres, and Antiquities, gave me the greatest pleasure. I had the honour of receiving distinguished civilities under the roofs of the President and Treasurer and entertain the strongest ambition I ever had of being admitted a Member of their Society ".[29] This ambition was soon satisfied. On June 6th he was elected a member through the instrumentality, as it would seem, of his old friend Colonel Vallancey and a rather more recent acquaintance Joseph Cooper Walker, author of *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* and other works. From the outset he looked for much from this new Academy which could count so many distinguished and influential people among its members. He himself was eager to help the Academy's work in every way that was open to him, and several letters which still survive in the various collections of his correspondence make it plain that he was far from being an inactive member. His grandson, later known to students of Irish history as Dr. Charles O'Conor, was a student at the Irish College in Rome during the years 1787-8-9 ; and it is plain from the correspondence of these years that Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, now approaching his eightieth year, was able to help the Academy in its work of collecting documents concerning Irish history through his grandson's Roman connections. But the story of these negotiations would take us too far afield.

CHARLES O'CONOR

NOTES

[1] Maurice Craigh : *The Volunteer Earl*, p. 207 foll.

[2] Warburton Whitelaw and Walsh : *History of the City of Dublin* (1818), vol. 2, p. 916 foll. ; J. T. Gilbert : *History of Dublin* (1861), vol. 3, p. 222-4 ; Westropp, in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*, New Series, vol. 46 (1916), p. 1 foll. ; Constantia Maxwell : *Dublin under the Georges*, p. 179.

[3] For an account of what was done as early as 1695-1710 to resuscitate the society which Molyneux had founded, see *Journal R. Soc. Ant.* (1916), p. 6.

[4] C. O'Conor, S.J.: An Irish Scholar's Education, in *Studies* (1934), pp. 124 foll.; 455. foll.

[5] In the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* (1787), the date of the first meeting of this society is given as 1740. But the Society's Minute Book is in the archives of the Royal Irish Academy (MS. 24. E. 28), and the entries in this book make it plain that the first meeting was in fact held on April 14, 1744. The statement made by Westropp in the *Journal R. Soc. Ant.* (1916), p. 9, that Trinity College was the first cradle of the new Society, is also incorrect; the first meeting was held in the House of Lords.

[6] H. E. Berry: *History of the Royal Dublin Society*, pp. 45-46; Warburton: *History of the City of Dublin*, vol. 2, p. 917.

[7] This letter is among the O'Conor family papers; it is dated 23 July 1763.

[8] R.I.A., MS. B. 1.2: a collection of Charles O'Conor's letters.

[9] O'Conor-Curry: 15 September 1763 (O'Conor family papers).

[10] Letters in the O'Conor family papers.

[11] Sullivan was dead before 1766: see O'Conor's preface to the second (1766) edition of his *Dissertations*. Sullivan's death is wrongly dated 1776 in *Dictionary of National Biography*; and the error is repeated in Webb's *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

[12] Preface to *Collectanea*, No. 1 (1770). This "Compleat Irish historical library" was never published; but I think there can be no doubt that the information contained in the volume known as Vallancey's Green Book, now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, represents the materials which had been intended for that work.

[13] R.I.A., MS. B. 1. 2.

[14] In evidence given before a Royal Commission in 1836: Berry, *History of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 149.

[15] Warburton, *History of the City of Dublin*, vol. 2, p. 918 note.

[16] These two letters are in R.I.A., MS. B. 1.2, but they are out of place in the collection. Leland's letter of May 24 is entered after a letter of March 21. O'Brien's letter is entered immediately after Vallency's letter of May 14, with an endorsement in O'Conor's hand: *Correspondence Examined Nov. 7, 1777.*

[17] Minutes of the Committee: 7 January 1773 (R.I.A., MS. 24. E. 7).

[18] Minutes of Committee: 1 February 1773 (*ibid.*). It is worth noting that Gilbert is incorrect in stating (*History of Dublin*, vol. 3, p. 224) that the meetings of the Committee "were generally held in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin". The Minutes Book shows that most of the meetings were held in "the Dublin Society's House". One meeting was held in Vallancey's house; only three meetings were held in the College Library.

[19] O'Conor Family Papers.

[20] The precise number is uncertain. The Minutes Book mentions 2,000 copies. In Vallancey's *Collectanea* (No. 13, p. 143) the number is given as 3,000. In an obituary notice of Colonel Vallancey (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1812, p. 289) 4,000 copies are mentioned.

[21] Vallancey-O'Conor: 3 September 1774 (R.I.A., MS. B. 1.2). An entry in the Minutes Book for Feb. 24, 1774, reads: Ordered that our amanuensis Maurice Gorman do wait on the Members in arrear to collect their subscriptions in order to enable the Committee to answer the demands made on them from abroad.

[22] *Collectanea*, No. 6, p. 89.

[23] R.I.A., MS. B. 1.2.

[24] O'Conor Family Papers.

[25] For Burton's career, see Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. VII, p. 188; *Freeman's Journal*, June 2, 1796; *Faulkner's Journal* (same date); Minutes of the Antiquarian Committee in R.I.A., MS. 24. E. 7.

[26] This suggestion was made by Sir William Wilde in *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, Fourth Series, vol. I (1870), p. 122 note.

[27] Gilbert: *History of Dublin*, vol. III, pp. 227-43.

[28] By permission of the Academy's Council, I have been permitted to consult the early Minutes of the Council, and have based my narrative on their evidence.

[29] O'Conor-J. C. Walker: 13 January 1787. This letter is among the Gilbert collection of papers now housed in the Municipal Library, Pearse Street, Dublin.

# SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

## XCI

## APPEAL TO OWEN ROE O'NEILL AS DEFENDER OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH

1. Dursan do chás, a chríoch Bhreagh ;
ní hiongnadh, gé mór, himneadh ;
adhbhal truime do thuirsi,
uille (a) hadhbhar aguibhsi.

2. Baintreabhach bhocht is tréith treoir
sibh nó dílleachta deireoil ;
a thaidhbhsi nach mór cairde,
lór le haimsir heasgcairde.

3. Céile caomh agaibh ní mhair,
tighearna triath nó bráthair,
sluagh measga (a) mair dá bhur ccloinn
teasda bhar ccuainne cumoinn.

4. Oilén na naomh romhainn treall
hainm bunaidh, a iath Éireann,
(achadh míndealbhach) na ccros seal,
a-nos cá sealbh nó sloinneadh.

5. An chlann ba dílios duibhsi,
mór a n-easbhaidh oruibhsi
na coiléin nar chlaon ód chuing,
a oiléin na naomh romhuinn.

6. Iomdha (fear) ag eadráin huilc
díbh fein go ndearnsat iodhbuirt,
líonmhar dhaoibh dá dhearbhadh soin
laoidhe (léachtáin) is leabhoir.

7. An fhoirionn ba fhíorchlann duibh
ó theasda uaibh—lór d'urbhaidh—
gnáth do-bheir do bhasdaird ort
caitheamh (capoill ar iasocht).

8. Caitheamh gan chosnamh re seal
oruibh a-tá, a ghuirt Ghaoidheal ;
lor méad do leatroim a-nois,
leaschlann an tréad ro charois.

9. Cuma leosoin dá bhrígh soin
urchra nó áinios oruibh ;
searc meabhlach na meirdreach dhuibh,
seal a meanman dá n-antoil.

10. Samhail seirce con do chnáimh
searc cáigh a-niugh dot éadáil
go deol sméara do sgoth slim ;
leo ní hanshochair hinghreim.

11. Cuid dá bpógann—cruaidh an cás—
sibh ós aird mar do-ní Iudás
ar bhrib mbig, is aithne dham
go mbraithid sibh ós íseal.

12. Aguibh a reachtuibh cloinne
tarla madraidh asgaille
nach lamh gleic thall ar th'aghaidh
dot reic sonn re Danaraibh.

13. Drong nach lean lorg na córa
leo ní cás coill th'onóra ;
ní truagh leo damhna do dhér,
a Bhanbha na mbruagh mínréidh.

14. Mur do dháil a-nois led chloinn
do-chuala mé sgéal fábhoill,
a fhlaithios saor chliar is chlog,
a aithris (duibh) ní dearmad.

15. Tarla san Róimh roimhe so
dar leam lánamhuin phósta
gá raibe (a) mbaramhail féin
deichneamhar mac go móirsgéimh.

16. Ag dul d'ég don inghin fhinn,
tiomnais dá sagart sailmbinn
don mhéidsin ger chaomh a nglac
nach rug dá céile acht aonmhac.

17. Beanuis Dia go prab iar sin
a labhra don mhnaoi mhéirghil,
gur eug suil do nocht a rún,
mo-nuar geug na bhfolt bhfionnúr.

18. An sagart thrá, mar ba chóir,
nochtais do chách a ccedóir
udhacht na sduaighe gan ghó ;
dubhach an cuaine dá iarghnó.

19. Nírbh fheas (don athair badh cóir)
a mhac féin don chloinn choloigh,
's niorbh aithne go fóill dóibh féin
cá haithre dhóibh nó ceinéil.

20. A ndeoigh bháis a chéile cuirp
's a chloinne uaidh do mhalairt
éguidh thoir fear mo chroidhe
do ghoimh éda is eolchoire.

21. Um oighreacht a n-athar sonn
troidis go cruaidh an chonchlann,
don ghlaic trá gach méar dá mheas
gurb é féin an mac díleas.

22. Dá bhríghsin eaturra féin
an chlann imriosnach aigmhéil
togbhuid do phléidáil a ccirt
breitheamh don tseanadh oirrdhirc.

23. Togbhais an breitheamh iar sin
corp a n-athar a talmhuin,
cuiris—cá cruaidhe cóir—
roimh an ccuaine mar chosbóir.

24. Dailis uaidh n-a dheaghaidh sin
balglan glaice do shaigdhibh
dá gach fhior don chloinn fo leith
an breitheamh nar chan claoinbhreith.

25. " Gidh bé as mhó chuirfios fa chion
dá ghlaic san corp " ar eision
" is é dha-ríribh dom rádh
is mac díleas don mharbhán ".

26. Crú croidhe don mharbhán bhocht
sgoruidh (gach saighead) ghéarnocht,
acht aonmhac nar fhaomh a ghoin
do chaoi braona dá fhéchoin.

27. An mac beag ba bádhach dreach
mionnuighis fon Dia dhúileach
ar oidhreacht an bheatha brais
nach cailgfeadh choidhche an mharbhthais.

28. " Fíor sin " ar an breitheamh binn
" súd t'athair, a mheic chúilfhinn ;
tuilidhe ro chailg an corp " ;
badh mairg don chuire a mhallucht.

29. Dar leat féin beanaidh an sdair
libh a-nois; a chríoch Cobhthaigh ;
as é Pádraig an t-athair ód
's as tú an mháthair a-nallód.

30. An chlann úd do chlann a-nos
dream nach (carann an) ceannas ;
an Pápa nó an eaglais sonn
an breitheamh cráibhtheach comhthrom.

31. An corp fa cosbóir dhon chloinn
creideamh meic amhra Alproinn ;
togbhthar a-niugh go nua sin
ar mbeith (san) uaigh re haimsir.

32. Eoghan mhac Airt nach airg cill
don chloinn aonmhac an Táilginn
ar bhladh ar uamhan nó ar ghlóir
ní lamh tuarguin an chusbóir.

33. Na ladrainn is leaschlann duit,
féach féin, a chreideamh Pádraig,
a dhoimhne chailgid do chneas
um oidhreacht Bhanbha ag coimhmeas.

34. Gus a-nois níor thuigios suim
an rainn do-rinneadh romhuinn :
" Éire agus Eoghan Ó Néill
glac agus ordóg iaidsein ".

35. Ní fhuil acht aoinmhér don ghlaic
dílios duit, a chríoch Cormaic,
acht a-mháin Eoghan Ó Néill
an chrág uile dot aimhréir.

36. Ní fhaghaid Danair é ar mhír
ní shén a thír ar bhirín,
ní thréig a dhaoine ar a chuid,
é le baoithe ní bhréguid.

37. Ní reac honóir, a Bheann Bhreagh,
ar bhrib níor chailg a chreideamh,
a mhóid ní thug thall ná 'bhos
glór ní chan tar a chumos.

38. Ní mar sin don chloinn chuilsi
ghonus corp na heaguilsi;
madh clann do Phádraig an fhian
meallta an Pápa 's a naoimhchliar.

39. Do shénsat Pádraig ar mhír,
ní feas dáibh an leo Cailbhín,
ní caraid dóibh cliara Gall,
fala leo ag fianuibh Éireann.

40. Mas eadh mar an ccloinn eile
bíd gan athair d'áiridhe;
a mhairg a mbliadhna don droing
ag cailg riaghla meic Alproinn.

41. Éifeacht an sgeoil, gá ttám dhe,
dhíbh ní feas fear bhar bpáirte;
Dia ar th'fhurtocht, a bhuime Chuinn,
dursan truime do leatruim.
Dursan.

## Translation

1. Hard is thy case, O Land of Breagha; not strange thy anxiety however great; terrible the weight of thy sorrow and great thy cause for it.

2. Thou art as a poor faltering widow or a wretched orphan, thou wraith whose friends are few but whose foes fail not ever.

3. Thou hast no gentle spouse alive or lord or master or kinsman; a drunken mob are thy children and all thy friends are gone.

4. "Island of Saints" was once thy title, O Land of Éire; a fair-shaped field of crosses wert thou once; now what hast thou, what is thy name?

5. O one-time Isle of Saints, a sore loss to thee are the children who once were true to thee, whelps who accepted thy leash.

6. Many the men who sacrificed themselves to save thee from harm—thou hast many proofs of this, poems and readings and books.

7. Now that these of thy true children have departed, great is thy loss; thy bastard children use thee as some nag they have picked up.

8. For long past thou hast been wasted and never defended, O Field of the Gaoidhil; great the weight of thy misery now, those thou didst love are shown not to be true children of thine.

9. And therefore they care not whether misery or joy be thy lot; harlots' deceitful love is what they have for thee; their high spirit, when they have it, comes from their passion.

10. Like the love of a dog for his bone is the love they have today for the spoil they get from thee; . . . . . (?) thy trouble affects them not.

11. Those who kiss thee in public as Judas did betray thee, I know it, in private for a paltry bribe.

12. Thou hast by way of children a pack of lap-dogs (?) who sell thee to the English and dare not fight in front of thee.

13. That crew who followed not justice care not if thou lose thy honour; O Banbha of the smooth borders, the cause of thy tears stirs not their compassion.

14. I once heard a story like thy experience with thy children, O noble realm of clergy and churches, 'tis no mistake to tell it to thee.

15. There lived once in Rome, I hear, a married couple who had, they thought, ten beautiful children.

16. When the fair lady was dying she told her sweet-singing priest that, fair as was that family, she had borne only one of them to her husband.

17. God suddenly deprives that white-handed woman of her power of speech, and so alas that lady of the fair fresh hair died before she had told her (full) secret.

18. The priest, as was right, told all the family immediately the dying words of the truthful lady; they were then cast into gloom.

19. The true father knew not his own son from the children of sin, and they knew not who were their fathers or what was their true race.

20. When his spouse had thus died, and his children had been transferred away from him, that man, whom I love to think of, died from the sting of envy and sorrow.

21. The family then fought hard about their father's inheritance, each finger of the hand thinking himself to be the true son.

22. Therefore those contentious angered children chose for the pleading of their case a judge of the illustrious senate.

23. This judge then takes the body of the father from the earth and puts it—what a terrible ordeal!—as a target in front of the sons.

24. And then that judge ever straight in judgement hands out to each one of the sons a handful of arrows.

25. " Whichever of you puts for his part the biggest number of the arrows in the corpse, he in my judgment is the true son of the dead man".

26. Each sharp arrow draws some heart-blood from the poor dead man except for one son who refused to wound him and wept tears at the sight of him.

27. That young kindly-faced son swore by the God of the elements that he would not for the whole wealth of the great world wound that corpse.

28. " That is right " said the kindly judge " that is thy father O fair-haired youth, those who shot at the corpse were bastards "; grievous to the rest did his curse sound.

29. O Land of Cobhthach, thou seest that the story applies to thyself; Patrick is the father and thou art the mother in the old tale.

30. The children in the story are thy children, folk who like not authority; the pious just judge is the Pope or the Church.

31. The corpse which was a target for the sons is the faith taught by famous Alpronn's son; after lying for long in the grave, it is now being taken out.

32. Eoghan son of Art who ever spared a church is the only son of the Adzehead among all thy children; not for fame or fear or glory will he dare strike the corpse.

33. Lo, O Faith of Patrick, see how deeply those villains, false sons of thine, wound thy body, in their rivalry about the heirship of Banbha.

34. Till today I have never understood the meaning of that old verse :—" Éire and Eoghan Ó Neill are as fingers and thumb ".

35. Only one finger of the hand is true to thee, O Land of Cormac; the whole paw disobeys thee except alone Eoghan Ó Néill.

36. The English do not catch him with a morsel; he denies not his land for a pin; he does not give up his people to get wealth for himself; they can not deceive him with foolish words.

37. He sells not thy honour, O Height of Breagha; he has not taken a bribe to injure his faith; he has not sworn in this way and in that; he promises only what he can perform.

38. Not so with the spurious children who wound the body of the Church; if that crew be Patrick's children then the Pope and the holy clergy have been deceived.

39. They have denied Patrick for the sake of a trifle; they do not know whether they agree with Calvin or not; the clergy (even) of the Goill do not like them while the troops of Éire hate them.

40. Consequently like those other children (in the story), they have no certain father; woe to those folk now who are attacking the Law of Alpronn's son.

41. The point of the story, I tell thee, is this, that, O Nurse of Conn, thou knowest not who is on thy side; may God help thee; heavy the weight of thy trouble.

## NOTES

MSS: H 5 28, 177 (H), 24 P 9, 209 (P), Book of O'Donnell's daughter f. 43 (D). Text is P except for few spelling variants and the words given below. All variants of any consequence from DH are also given. H gives as author Brian Óg Mac Con Midhe, D gives Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair, P names no author.

1*b*. *Leg*. gidh *d*. a *abest* P 2*a*. *Leg*. -bhthach ? 3*c*. a *abest* P; meisge HD 4*b*. ainm PH; a iath H, diath P, iath D *c*. *sic* H, acht daoibh a dealbh PD 5*d*. a *abest* P 6*a*. bearn PDH; -ran P *d*. leachtain PHD 7*b*. -daidh PH *d*. an chapoill iasocht PHD 10*c*. *sic* PDH *except for* ad sgoth *in* H 11*d*. -thid D, -fe P, -fidh H; dhamh : íseall PDH *unmetrical* 12*b*. -aigh D; easg. D 13*a*. do ch. DH *cd*. dhér : -réidh PDH *unmetrical*. 14*c*. cl. is cl. HD *d*. díbh PHD 15*c*. raibh HP; da PHD 17*c*. sul P 18*c*. udhachta P 19*a*. *sic* H, dan athair anba an chóir PD *d*. cinél PHD 20*c*. tshoir P 21*b*. comhlonn P 22*d*. tshenáid DH, tshenaid P 23*d*. *Leg*. ris an gcu. ? 24*b*. *Leg* balglán ? 25*a*. Caidhe badh mó PD, Cia bhus mhó H 26*b*. sgoruid siad re saighdibh géarnocht PHD 28*c*. -ighthe DP, -fighe H *d*. chuirighthe P, chuire D, chuaine H 30*b*. carthannach HP, carannach D; ceannois P 31*c*. togthar HD, fógruidh P *d*. dhosan P; re *abest* HP 33*c*. chaithid P *Between* 35 *and* 36 *is* :—Beannocht ris an ghaisg ± ghleann (?)· ó bhás ríghdhamhna Éireann; bogha is glac an cog ± cruaidh· eogmc Airt go mórbhuaidh 37*a*. mbreagh 39*c*. *Leg*. cliara ceall ?

# DANIEL DOYLE AND YOUNG IRELAND*

BY FRANCIS FINEGAN, S.J.

## I

DANIEL DOYLE was born on 13 November 1826 at Killaloe. He was the eldest son of John Doyle and Mary Fitzgibbon who were married at St. Michael's Church Limerick on 5 January 1824. Of the Fitzgibbon family we have not much certain knowledge owing to the frequency with which the name occurs around Limerick. We know, however, that Daniel Doyle's mother had a brother who became a priest in the diocese of Limerick. Father Fitzgibbon was probably not ordained at the time of his sister's marriage with John Doyle. Of his later career we know that he discharged his duties as a priest with heroism in the great Famine of 1847. According to the late Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, Fr. Fitzgibbon fell a victim himself to the cholera and died while saying Mass. The heroic priest was buried in the old St. John's Church which occupied part of the site of the present stately Cathedral of St. John. Bishop O'Dwyer related to members of the Doyle family that when the old church was being demolished and the site prepared for the new cathedral, Fr. Fitzgibbon's coffin when discovered fell apart and revealed the priest's remains intact, while the whole nave of the old church was filled with an exquisite perfume. It was then decided to retain the remains within the cathedral.

Killaloe was the home of the Doyles for many generations. When this family took up residence in Limerick in 1840, they regarded the family's association with Killaloe as only one stage in their journey from one part of Ireland to another. Family tradition held that nine generations of the family had lived at Killaloe, and we may reasonably conjecture that the Doyle family was one of the many displaced families who eventually found a refuge across the Shannon after the Cromwellian spoliations in the sixteenth century. Daniel was the characteristic christian name of their men-folk, and it is said that the nine generations of the family at Killaloe had each a Daniel at its head. Of these however we can trace the names only from the great-grandfather of our present subject. This Daniel Doyle was born in 1736 and married a Miss Mary Scanlan of Garraunboy in the parish of Killaloe in 1768. The Scanlans were owners of a considerable landed property at this time. Daniel Doyle in the last quarter of the eighteenth century acquired property in the North Liberties

*Sources: Doyle family papers (1794-1903), consisting of legal documents, family correspondence and memoranda.
The State Papers in Record Tower, Dublin Castle, Cartons 1513, 1517, 1527.
The *Limerick Reporter* and the *Limerick Chronicle* files (1847-1873).

of Limerick, and in an Indenture of 1794 (still in possession of the family) as well as in some memorials of deeds he is invariably described as ' of Limerick '. The Doyle home, which is still to be seen in Killaloe, was a comfortable Georgian house. Amongst distinguished relatives of this family we can mention the Abbé John Hogan (1829-1901) of St-Sulpice, Paris; Mgr. John Hogan (1858-1918) for many years Editor of *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* and later President of Maynooth College; and Most Rev. Dr. Flannery Bishop of Killaloe, who through ill-health spent many years in retirement at Saint-Sulpice with his cousin the Abbé Hogan. An account of the Abbé Hogan is given in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

Towards the end of 1840 John Doyle sold his Killaloe property and brought his family to Limerick, where he rented the house and grounds of Court Brack, the present site of the Redemptorist Monastery and Church. After four years residence at Court Brack, John Doyle relinquished this property to its owner, John O'Brien M.P., and took up residence at Upper Cecil street. We may recall here the names and professions of his four sons : Daniel a solicitor. James an engineer, Edmund a Franciscan, who died in Rome, Charles an engineer. His four daughters were : Mary who married Michael Nial and who died in Melbourne, Margaret who died on her way to Australia, Helena and Teresa who both entered religion. Michael Nial, who married Mary Doyle, was himself a member of an old and distinguished Killaloe family which was also forcibly transplanted from the North of Ireland in the great upheaval of the seventeenth century. The descendants of Michael Nial and Mary Doyle still live in Melbourne, where they continue the distinguished tradition of their Killaloe forbears in the medical profession.

## II

Daniel Doyle was not quite fifteen years old when he was apprenticed to Robert Potter solicitor, Law Agent to the Limerick Corporation and later member of parliament (1852-54) for the city. We are not told where young Doyle received his education prior to entering on his apprenticeship as a solicitor ; but we know that, like his father John Doyle, he had received a good training in the Ancient Classics. Likely enough he received his schooling in one of the private academies still frequented in Irish cities until the more widespread diffusion of the great schools of the Catholic teaching orders. The indenture of Doyle's apprenticeship, which is dated 12 June 1841, provided for a training of five years in the studies required for the legal profession. Daniel Doyle became a solicitor, therefore, in 1846 at the youthful age of twenty.

There is no evidence that Doyle received his first interests in politics within his own family circle. His father attended to the management of his property and took no more interest in politics than the average

citizen. Young Doyle's interest in politics can reasonably be said to have derived from his superior in the law, Robert Potter, as well as from a young fellow solicitor John O'Donnell, six years his senior, who was later to be his colleague in the Young Ireland rising in Limerick. Potter was an admirer of O'Connell, but with sympathies for the brilliant young men who in the early stages of the Young Ireland movement favoured a more forward or vigorous policy for the achievement of Repeal. O'Donnell, for all his impetuous temperament, was never an advocate of the bloodshed theory. Both he and Doyle were commissioned by Smith O'Brien in the late summer of 1847 to organise Confederate Clubs in Limerick. That they did their work well, in spite of the general apathy caused by the Great Famine, is evident from the fact that many thousands of Limerick men were ready to answer the summons in 1848. The work of organising the clubs was uphill work and involved long journeys on horseback throughout the county. These Young Irelanders worked steadily for a union of heart and mind amongst all interested in repeal. In September 1847 Doyle and O'Donnell established the Sarsfield Club. The preliminary meetings of this Club were held in the house of Dr. Griffin (the brother of the poet and novelist Gerald Griffin) in 56 George Street. By a curious co-incidence Doyle was to take up residence twenty years later in Dr. Griffin's house; which afterwards remained the permanent residence of his family.

In a letter to Smith O'Brien Doyle writes on the 18 September 1847: "We have within the last ten days established in this city a club called the Sarsfield Confederate Club to cooperate with the confederation in sustaining the pure principles of Repeal. . . . . My time since the Resolution was passed was so entirely occupied in collecting subscriptions, attending to committees, and writing letters to those persons I thought likely to join the club, that I was not left a minute to myself and this will, I trust, be sufficient excuse for not communicating with you sooner. . . . . It may be a satisfaction to you to know how we are circumstanced. We have already over eighty members, and we are promised the support of a large body of the Trades as soon as we have got our rooms (which are very good and central) open and our machinery at work. We meet henceforth nightly to enrol members and hope in a very short time to be sufficiently in force to hold a public meeting, in reference to which Dr. Griffin told me that he would write to you." The public meeting proposed was not, however, summoned until March 1848. The authorities of Dublin Castle were fully aware of the intentions of the Young Irelanders of Limerick to hold a monster Repeal meeting, but took no steps to hinder it. Directions from Dublin simply stated that no show of force on the part of police or military should be made until force was displayed by the Limerick men. A broadsheet was circulated throughout the city summoning the people to demonstrate in favour of repeal.

The fact that the meeting fell through eventually does not lessen the interest in the Confederate Club's conciliatory policy, which was set forth in the broadsheet, a work that bears the impress of O'Donnell's composition : " Men of Limerick ! You sons of the heroes of the siege, I beg to address these lines to you. The day, nay the hour has arrived. No longer slavery in this beautiful land of ours, no longer starvation in this land of milk and honey : by nature's dictates, blessed by the all-seeing God, but cursed, cursed by our accursed rulers, even for centuries ! English misrule has caused all. Meet, in Heaven's name, on Sunday next at the town Hall at one o'clock. On that day of sanctity when God ceased his holy work, let our Holy Work commence in earnest. Let us petition the Queen alone for immediate restoration of our long withheld rights. Let there be no more differences among Repealers. We shall meet and forget those unhappy feuds which have so fatally divided us. We shall think only of our starving fellow-countrymen and the means of immediate redress. O'Connell is looking with anxious soul from his grave to you, and as sure as God exists both John O'Connell and Smith O'Brien's hearts are in the right place and could our immortal Liberator speak from the tomb, he would tell you so. . . . " The foregoing might easily be mistaken for a " moral-force " exhortation of the O'Connellites, while the reference to Queen Victoria is sufficient proof that the Young Irelanders as a party were not all republican in sentiment. Only the concluding words of the broadsheet betray its Confederate Club origin : " France ! Oh glorious France ! France has taught tyrants a lesson . . and it may be that perhaps even at the eleventh hour England may take the hint. For Repeal, now or never, and at all risks Repeal."

## III

The reports reaching Dublin Castle of the failure of the proposed meeting do not, however, conclusively prove the failure of Doyle and O'Donnell to stir up enthusiasm for the Confederate cause. The intransigence of the O'Connellites seems to have been the cause of the failure, because the broadsheet just cited shows that the Young Irelanders did not wish to stage a single party meeting but rather one in which all Repealers, O'Connellites as well as Confederates, might participate. In any event, other Confederate Clubs were founded in the succeeding months even in the city area. The two young solicitors, however, felt that their efforts might bear more abundant fruit in the country. They organised Clubs in Abbeyfeale, Newcastle and Rathkeale. Curiously enough the Club at Abbeyfeale, with Justin McCarthy as its chairman, was not a Confederate Club exclusively but one of United Repealers, while it bore the title of the Oliver Bond Club. Dublin Castle rejoiced in confidential information received that there was widespread apathy

for Repeal in general and for the Confederate Clubs in particular. In conflict, however, with reports of the people's apathy towards politics came disquieting news that pikes were being manufactured wholesale throughout the county of Limerick. The government forwarded comforting assurances to the local authorities that special reporters were on their way to Rathkeale to detect treason in the speeches of Smith O'Brien and his supporters.

The months of May and June passed quietly so far as the government was concerned. Richard O'Gorman was commissioned by Smith O'Brien to inspect the Confederate Clubs in the Limerick and Shannon area, and he was able to report favourably on the high enthusiasm that prevailed in Limerick, both city and county. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus act was intended to provoke action from the side of the Young Ireland leaders before the harvest. Smith O'Brien and his fellow-leaders had now no alternative but to take to the hills and make the best show of resistance they could. O'Gorman took supreme command in Limerick, with Daniel Doyle and John O'Donnell as his aides-de-camp. The leader was naturally dependent on Doyle and O'Donnell who had a perfect knowledge of the terrain as well as the confidence and respect of their men. O'Gorman followed his aides' advice that bloodshed was to be avoided at all costs.

The plan, however, of his counsellors was not just one of surrender. Doyle and O'Donnell realised the futility of attacking the police barracks. They had a more potent plan : to disrupt government communications by seizing the State Mails. The attack on the mail coaches at Abbeyfeale was well planned. On the night of August 4th, insurgent camp fires blazed on the hill tops at a distance from Abbeyfeale. The military and police went off in search of the rebels, leaving the town unprotected. Let us hear the official report which reached Dublin Castle : " Abbeyfeale, August 5th, 1848. I beg to report that when the Coaches were changing within one mile of the town at the Kerry side this day, the insurgents took the mails, to and from Dublin, out of the coaches together with two blunderbusses from one of the guards. The Mails were returned about four o'clock after being opened and all the Official Letters kept. I also beg to report that the insurgents have formed an encampment in the County of Kerry within one mile of the town and are in possession of a great deal of firearms." The official account of the seizure of the Mails bears no comparison with the vulgar recriminations of the Tory or luke-warm nationalist press, which unanimously abused the insurgents as robbers. A postal official of Abbeyfeale in a communication to Dublin Castle acknowledged the meticulous care of the insurgents that a registered packet, which probably contained money, might not be mislaid. The net result of the " robbery of the Mails " is the absence today of a few packages of Castle correspondence from amongst the State papers.

Close on the successful seizure of the State Mails came rumours of the collapse of the insurrection at Ballingarry. It may be argued that the occurrence at Abbeyfeale was only a flash in the pan. But the affair at Ballingarry was little more than a flash in the pan. The seizure of the Mails throughout the country, such as Doyle and O'Donnell planned at Abbeyfeale, would at least have been more than an idle gesture ; it might well have caused the government much difficulty in the prosecution of its business. But with the failure of Smith O'Brien in Tipperary, there could no longer be any meaning in further resistance by the men of Limerick. Gradually the confederates fell away, though for the next six weeks the reports of the local authorities to the government told of numerous bands of armed men in the hills of Limerick, Tipperary and Kerry. Our concern here however is rather with the story of O'Gorman, Doyle and O'Donnell.

## IV

The State Papers for 1848 differ from those of 1798 in one important feature : in 1848 the professional informer has been replaced by the all-seeing police system. This does not mean, of course, that there were no informers in 1848, but rather that fifty years after 1798 the informer directs his communications to the local police force and no longer to Dublin Castle. From a study of the State Papers for Clare and Limerick in the weeks following the Ballingarry affair and the seizure of the State Mails at Abbeyfeale one heartening fact emerges, the fidelity and good faith of the people on whom the three fugitive leaders depended for food and shelter. It seems clear that the people, in spite of all the miseries they endured in the Great Famine, had come to realise that the insurgents were fighting for their own country. It is only gradually that the names of O'Donnell and Doyle come to the knowledge of the authorities. The arrest of O'Gorman is reported from various quarters in Co. Limerick as imminent and occasionally as a *fait accompli*. Not a few unoffending people spent a night in the police barracks under mistaken identity for O'Gorman, and in one instance an army officer who was stationed with his regiment in Limerick was arrested on his return from a grouse-shooting party in Co. Cork. About three weeks elapsed before Doyle and his companions were able to escape across the Shannon to the comparative safety of Clare. We cannot now be sure of their exact route. The account in the State Papers says that they took a cross country route by Carrig Kerry, Ardagh, Cahirmoyle (the home of Smith O'Brien) and Shanid Castle, leaving Shanagolden and Askeaton to the right. It is amusing to read, in the same sources, of the presence of O'Gorman, Doyle and O'Donnell near Abbeyfeale or Askeaton or in Co. Kerry a fortnight after their escape from Ireland on to the high seas.

In Clare the fugitive leaders enjoyed the good faith and loyalty of the people no less than in Co. Limerick. The police were always just too late to discover their rendezvous. A threatening notice posted by a stalwart smith in the Burren country to his fellow artisans to get the pikes ready sent the police off on more than one false scent. The dissemination of pseudo-scripture was a cause also of perplexity to the police no less than the conflicting reports of the fugitives' whereabouts. In the State Papers of this time may be found a small pamphlet with an angry letter from the local stipendiary magistrate. The title of the pamphlet tells its own tale : " The Wonderful Prophecy found in Holy Cross Abbey written on Irish Parchment in the Year of Our Lord 917 and discovered in the present year and translated from the Hebrew Language, in which it was written, to the English tongue by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, With Extracts from the Writings of the Right Reverend Dr. Doyle (late Bishop of Carlow) upon the prosperity of the Church and the different changes to take place in this present and coming year. With remarkable Events From the Vision of St. Patrick and St. Bridget. Dublin. Printed for Terence Brady, Engine Alley. 1848." Needless to say there is no preface or permission to print from His Grace of Cashel. The ' sacred text ' is of a very apocalyptic and minatory character, to which is appended some racy and forthright exegesis which assigns to John Bull the unaccustomed rôle of the Scarlet Woman. The rise of France is demonstrably clear from the original Hebrew, while " the bark of the Irish Wolf Dog to our ancient armoured Irish Chieftains, with their bright glimmering swords, will be produced by the threatening appearance of the tyrant monarch before mentioned who holds three beasts or kingdoms." The predictions of SS. Patrick and Bridget, as well as the dying words of the patriotic J.K.L., are if anything more explicit than the exegesis of the " original Hebrew ". This diverting tract had a wide sale in Co. Clare. The purveyors or authors were eventually discovered and interrogated. They were two young men who reached Clare from Dublin by sea, putting in at Cork and elsewhere to have new impressions printed. After a fine and a caution they pass out of history.

Arrangements for the apprehension of O'Gorman, Doyle and O'Donnell were in the hands of Colonel Vandaleur and the resident magistrate Mr. Little. They did not work well together, as their mutual recriminations to the Government amply show. Vandeleur was in charge of some boats to guard the coast, while Little had command of the police and military. Following an agreement between them as to the deployment of their forces, Little received word from a professional informer, a member of the county aristocracy, that the three leaders had reached Kilkee. Without consulting Vandeleur he set off for Kilkee only to find that the fugitives had left again about an hour previously. We need follow the authorities no further in their search. The honours for hospitality to the homeless and

hungry men are to be accorded to John and Susan Moore, the proprietors of a well-known Hotel in Kilkee. When it was unsafe to stay at the hotel, the Moores provided the hapless men with food in their hiding place, the Amphitheatre of Kilkee. The last relevant entry in the Castle records of these Young Irelanders may be given: "Kilrush, September 1848. I have been informed this morning by a very respectable man who has the means of obtaining correct information that Messrs. O'Gorman, Doyle and O'Donnell sailed from this river in the bark *Prince Albert* bound out to Constantinople for grain about three days ago. Should the government think fit, there is no doubt she could be overhauled at Gibraltar or Malta if orders were sent out by the next steamer. P.S. The *Prince Albert* was lying in Carrigaholt, ready hands for several days, when I understand the packet embarked."

## V

It is not certain how far Richard O'Gorman travelled with Doyle and O'Donnell on their way to Constantinople. Though a reward of £300 was offered for his arrest, we know that he eventually reached America and that his professional career was eminently successful. Appointed Judge of the Superior Court, New York, he died there in 1895. A diary of Daniel Doyle's voyage to Constantinople is now preserved in University College, Dublin. From what is legible (the diary was injured by sea-water) we deduce his interests in the fauna and flora of the Islands of the Aegean and the storied place-names of antiquity. After arriving safely in Constantinople, they found a friendly Irishman a Dr. Glascott who was a physician to the Sultan. Dr. Glascott received them into his suite and gave them the hospitality of his house for the next thirteen or fourteen months. Towards the late autumn of 1849 Daniel Doyle received disquieting news of his father's serious illness. He decided at once to return home, pardoned or unpardoned by the British Government. Accompanied by John O'Donnell, he set out on the long journey to Limerick and reached home just before the death of his father, which occurred at his home in upper Cecil Street on 8 January 1850. John Doyle was buried in Killaloe and was the last of the Doyles of Killaloe to find his final resting-place in the cemetery close to the east transept of the protestant Cathedral. Daniel Doyle's mother, who survived her son three years, is buried in the Doyle family vault in St. Lawrence's cemetery Limerick.

Both Doyle and O'Donnell now settled down in earnest to the practice of their profession as solicitors, but soon found the urge to give attention to public affairs as well. Before the end of the year (1850) Doyle, who was now a member of the Liberal party, made an attack upon the Mayor for his "indifference to the interests of the Liberal party, duplicity and

want of truthfulness." Doyle proves his charge home that the Mayor, in his conduct of excluding the members of the Liberal party from the use of the City Court House as a meeting place, simply abused the votes of the electors to get into office and then take his dictation from the Tories. In the following year (1851) Doyle and O'Donnell became members of the Board of Guardians. Doyle, it must be remembered, was now only twenty-five; but he showed a maturity of character and judgment that might do credit to one twice his age. He spoke strongly in favour of the extension of medical services for the poor and for the employment of local labour against cheap imported labour. In debate he could be devastating towards his opponent—but only after provocation. Shortly after his entry into the Corporation he was taken to task by an elderly Tory of the old school on the score of his youthfulness and consequent inexperience. Doyle's reply was typical: "If I were of the same age as yourself, I should think it high time to retire."

Towards the end of 1853 a motion was introduced, to a full house of the Corporation, to forward an address of loyalty to Queen Victoria. The address, it need not be emphasised, was typical of many sent up to the Castle for the next twenty years or so. Doyle and O'Donnell brought forward an amendment, which was defeated of course but which deserves mention here: "The humble address of the people of Limerick sheweth that we your Majesty's dutiful people of the City of Limerick humbly approach your Majesty with feelings of sincerest gratitude for the numerous marks of favour exhibited by your Majesty's Government towards Ireland generally and towards this City in particular. *Firstly*, As Roman Catholics anxious for the unrestricted exercise of our religion, we feel ourselves deeply indebted to your Majesty's government for the enactment of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. *Secondly*, As persons warmly interested in the equitable adjustment of the land question, we feel a further debt of obligation to your Majesty for the recent withdrawal of the Land Improvements Bills. *Thirdly*, As citizens over-burdened already by taxation, we cannot but express our lasting gratitude for the extension of the Income Tax to Ireland. *Fourthly*, We would be ungrateful indeed if at this season of unprecedented quiet we did not tender to your Majesty our thanks for the re-enactment of the Co-ercion Act, and we recognise in the fact the most flattering proof of the extreme confidence with which your Majesty regards us. *Finally*, As citizens of Limerick and devoted admirers (many of us personal friends) of our illustrious countryman William Smith O'Brien, we owe an immeasurable debt of gratitude to your Majesty for the gracious reception accorded to the numerous petitions addressed to your Majesty on his behalf; and your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will pray for you."

Daniel Doyle's participation in public life was to be limited almost to the periods in which elections were held. He consistently supported the Catholic Liberal candidates, and on more than one occasion his

opponents paid tribute to his courteous and gentlemanly conduct. It was commonly said of him that he kept his politics only for election time, but thereafter lived in harmony with political friends and foes alike. In the early 'fifties he was much discussed in Irish Liberal circles as a prospective candidate for Parliament. True to his promise however, in no circumstances to accept position or benefit under the Crown, he declined nomination and his place was taken by his old mentor in the legal profession, Robert Potter, who died during his term as M.P. for Limerick city in 1854. Doyle later refused the post of Crown Prosecutor, but with characteristic thoughtfulness supported a Catholic Unionist who had no scruples about accepting the office. The names of Doyle and O'Donnell had become, in their lifetime, almost a legend in the city and county, and the candidate for municipal or parliamentary honours was certain of the popular favour if he could assure the voters that his candidature was backed by the former leaders of '48.

Daniel Doyle was married in 1859 to Elizabeth Simpson at the parish church of Altringham, Cheshire. The story of his wife's conversion to the Catholic religion and of their first meeting in Ireland is remarkable. Miss Simpson came of a wealthy family who owned an extensive iron-founding business at Bury, Cheshire. Her elder sister Harriet had recently married a young Irish doctor, Edward Gleeson (of the Tinnerana family), who was in practice at Bury. In the summer of 1857 Dr. and Mrs. Gleeson were accompanied by Elizabeth Simpson on a tour of the south of Ireland. During their holidays they paid a visit to Limerick, where the doctor's first cousin Father Moloney was a parish priest. The kindly priest, anxious to entertain his English guests, brought them on a visit to Laurel Hill Convent where prize-day was being celebrated. Elizabeth, whose school days were not yet over, was so charmed by the people and the place that she wrote for and obtained her mother's permission to remain at the " French Convent " in Limerick instead of going to a ladies' finishing-school in Paris, as had been previously arranged. Every Sunday, for nearly a year, Elizabeth Simpson accompanied by Dr. and Mrs. Gelston attended service at the protestant church of St. Michael's in Pery Square. At length she expressed a desire to become a Catholic and, after receiving instructions from Fr. Vincent Carroll, O.P., she was received into the Catholic Church in the convent chapel of Laurel Hill by the Bishop of Limerick Dr. Ryan, who gave her the names of Lelia Mary Josephine. Owing to the shock caused to some members of her family by her conversion, her mother requested her not to return to England for the present, but to await her arrival in Kilkee for holidays. At Moore's Hotel, Kilkee, Daniel Doyle was introduced to his future bride. Their married life was to be singularly happy, and this gracious English lady proved a truly " valiant woman " during the brief years of her married life and the long years of her widowhood.

The first home of the Doyles was Whitehall, Parteen, where four of their children were born. Later they took a long lease of Cratloe Woods, the estate of Mr. Stafford O'Brien, where their last two children were born—thus bringing the family to three sons and three daughters. It may be mentioned here that Mrs. Simpson, who was received into the Church a few years after her daughter Mrs. Doyle, came finally to live in Ireland. She died at Cratloe Woods in 1869 and is buried in the Doyle family vault.

Cratloe Woods was then in an Irish-speaking district, and Daniel Doyle got an Irish-speaking 'nanny' to teach his young family their native language. His elder children in those years were bilingual, until he finally brought his family to reside in Limerick to provide them with better facilities for schooling. It is pleasant to recall that in the late 'sixties a mysterious visitor to Cratloe Woods was one whose name we have already noticed. Dr. Glascott, who befriended Doyle and O'Donnell at Constantinople almost twenty years previously, spent some holidays here while on a visit to his native land. Of course he was warmly welcomed to the hospitality of Cratloe Woods; but the ladies of the household in that sober mid-Victorian era thought him a trifle weird. Now a Turk to the manner born, he shuffled round the house and grounds in his fez, gown and slippers, ceaselessly smoking turkish tobacco.

A memorable event in Doyle's later years was his defence of the Fenians at the sessions of the Limerick Special Commission in May and June 1867. In his Young Ireland days he abhorred bloodshed, and his views had undergone no change on the subject. But many of the Limerick Fenians were the sons of his own companions in the rising of '48. Let us hear the relevant extract from the official report of the Commission: "The several prisoners were then asked to name counsel and attorneys, which some did, while others deferred doing so to a later period, the majority naming Mr. Daniel Doyle as their attorney."

On 17 February 1869 death deprived Daniel Doyle of his life-long and closest friend John O'Donnell at the age of fifty-one. His funeral was the largest in Limerick within living memory, and both city and county deeply mourned an impetuous and lovable son who upheld her honour in the dark days. Little remains to be recorded of the surviving leader of '48. In the early seventies he returned to take up residence in the city. He was a leading man in his legal profession, who found time also to engage in charitable and cultural activities for the betterment of his adopted city. Limerick men had long forgotten his Banner-county origin. He was known always as Dan Doyle of Limerick. And so when death claimed him on 30 June 1873 at the early age of forty seven, Limerick again mourned a wise son who gave prudent counsel and upheld her honour in distressful days.

FRANCIS FINEGAN

# REVIEWS

## The Problem of Germany

*STUDIES IN GERMAN HISTORY.* By G. P. Gooch, D.Litt., F.B.A. London: Longmans. 1949. Pp. vii, 515. 21s.

Twice in the twentieth century—this is the majority verdict of the world—Germany has been mainly responsible for the launching of a world war. Three times in the nineteenth century, and within the short span of seven years from 1864 to 1871, Prussia waged war upon countries that bordered her territory and crowned a triple victory with the proclamation of an Empire and an Emperor of Germany. Are there—one is compelled to ask—some peculiar qualities or defects in the German character which have made that people so bellicose and so war-minded? Must we look for a reason—if not of course a justification—in German history?

The question becomes even more urgent when efforts are being made to resurrect a Germany after six years of war and three to four post-war years of defeat and prostration. Can the Western Powers create a properly democratic Germany, the old lust for combat duly exorcised? Will it be possible for this new Germany, composed of the three zones of Western occupation, to find its place and play its part in Western Europe and the Western world?

To such searching questions no one would dare to offer an easy or too optimistic a reply.

The elements for that reply can best be sought in German history and political thought and experience. And this is where the latest work of Dr. Gooch, than whom few scholars know their Germany more thoroughly, will be of sterling service. These *Studies in German History* are not, as the author admits from the beginning, a continuous narrative. Indeed, most of the chapters are reprints, though in some cases they have been enlarged. Some of them are taken from a volume of lectures sponsored by the Sociological Society in 1945, such as the first contribution on *German Political Ideas from Luther to Hitler*. Others are reproduced from Dr. Gooch's *Studies in Modern History* or from the *Contemporary Review*. A few such as *Mirabeau and the Prussian Monarchy* and *Bismarck's Table Talk* appear for the first time. Dr. Gooch modestly claims that, though the chapters were composed at different times, none the less " they derive a certain unity from the fact that they illustrate almost every phase of German history from the Reformation to the eve of the Second World War ".

These essays are the fruit of long-standing and profound knowledge. They are characterised by fair comment and balanced judgment. Dr. Gooch is neither Germanophil nor Germanophobe. Indeed, his appreciation for Frederick the Great and Bismarck, which does not cloud his objectivity, leads him to speak of them as the two most outstanding figures, with the exception of Napoleon, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Occasionally, however, Homer does nod or Gooch does wobble as in the heavy study of *Ranke's Interpretation of German History*, where he reproduces, with too little antidote, the Saxon professor's pompous bigotries and his naive and uncritical estimate of Martin Luther. Elsewhere Dr. Gooch restores the balance, at least in part. In his first essay he agrees with Figgis that the supreme achievement of the Reformation was the modern state, and that Luther was largely responsible for the growth of the power of the state in Germany. " None of the Lutheran leaders " he says " anticipated the watertight absolutism of Hobbes. Yet Luther was as much the pioneer of political authoritarianism in Germany as was Calvin, *malgré lui*, of the democratic tradition of the Anglo-Saxon world " (p. 4).

The peculiar problem of Germany, as the world has experienced it in the past hundred years, has been the combination of political authority and discipline at home and the overweening spirit of nationalism and militarism. Which of these characteristics was the more fundamental? Did the German people accept authority that they might be more closely united and effective in aggression? Or was their aggression the outcome of too great a subservience to authority? Were they wanting in political sense?

It must be remembered that until the close of the eighteenth century the political map of Germany was a mosaic of states and principalities, most of them owing some kind of allegiance, however nominal, to the older notion of an Empire. Even after the French Revolution had encouraged larger areas in Germany to swallow some of their smaller neighbours, there still remained forty distinct states after 1815. There was little nationalism and very little sense of a common German sentiment. Indeed, the German people was slow to cultivate a national spirit; that maybe is the reason why later they developed, and so quickly, a spirit that was nationalistic. The normal government in these principalities was a benevolent or not so benevolent autocracy, in which the people were never called to share. The method was paternal government; the ideal, good paternal government.

There were not wanting thinkers and writers who argued that this system was deficient, and that government ought to be founded upon consent, the consent of the governed. Among them, Althusius in the early seventeenth century and, later, Moser, Schlözer and Justus Möser. Of Moser's work *Der Herr und der Diener* Dr. Gooch says that it is "the political classic of the *Aufklärung*" (p. 59). The effect of the French Revolution can be seen in Wilhelm von Humboldt's volume on *The Limits of State Action*, to which John Stuart Mill confessed himself indebted. In this work Humboldt asserted that the State existed merely to create conditions of justice in which the individual might work out his self-realisation and the people be protected from foreign enemies. This liberal current was continued into the nineteenth in the writings of men like Arndt, Dahlmann and Jakob Grimm, who played an important part in the abortive Frankfurt assembly of 1848.

But, on the other hand, a second tendency grew more evident. Fichte began as an individualist; but by 1800 he was urging that the State should monopolise trade, control wages and prices, secure work for all and aim at an economic autarchy. Hegel, whose influence was paramount throughout the nineteenth century, proclaimed that the State was the realised ethical idea, the highest manifestation of the divine on earth, and that it was the individual's duty, even where his conscience urged upon him the reverse, to submit himself to the will and dominance of the State. Hegel also claimed that no moral law existed between states; international agreements provided no true contracts; wars were necessary—even good. Two generations afterwards, Treitschke was to re-echo Hegelian doctrine in popular and coloured eloquence. The State, he declared, has the right to dominate the individual because he cannot live without it. This State is bound by no code of ethics; self-preservation is its only law. It is the guardian of national tradition and must accordingly be strong. International law is a mere phrase; no State can bind its hands and jeopardise its interests by maintaining obligations to other countries. It must always be prepared for war—which, when undertaken for honour or for some supreme national interest, is a wholesome and inspiring experience. Dreams of perpetual peace, such as had been outlined by Kant, were, in Treitschke's opinion, the mark of decadence, for conflict is the law of life. Moltke had said: "Perpetual peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream."

Parallel with this dangerous contrast of ideas within the German mind ran another divergent series. In pre-nineteenth century Germany local loyalties were

strong, and they were crowned not by a German national sentiment but by a feeling of cosmopolitanism, that emerges clearly from the greatest German minds. Lessing, for instance, writing to Gleim, declared : " Perhaps the patriot is not wholly overlaid in me, though to be praised as a zealous patriot is the last thing I crave—a patriot, that is, who would teach me to forget that I am a citizen of the world. I have literally no conception of the love of the Fatherland (I am sorry to confess my shame), and it appears to me a heroic failing from which I am glad to be free " (p. 70). Goethe, who had no natural sympathy with the methods of the Revolution in France but was immensely fascinated by Napoleon, who visited him in Weimar and conferred on himself and Wieland the newly-established Legion of Honour, felt himself out of harmony with the Prussian jubilation after 1814. " How could I," he wrote to Eckermann, "to whom culture and barbarism are alone of importance, hate a nation which is among the most cultivated on earth and to which I owe so great a part of my own possessions ? There is a stage where national hatred vanishes altogether, and where one stands to a certain extent above the nations and feels the weal or woe of a neighbouring people as if it were one's own." (p. 186). It was a sentiment anathema to the Treitschkes of a growing Prussia.

Apart from this study of political ideas Dr. Gooch has some bright chapters on historical topics, such as his detailed and sympathetic appreciation of Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of Frederick the Great, his analysis of the condition of eighteenth century Germany and his two essays on Mirabeau. A Frenchman, reading these essays, might feel tempted to demand a posthumous trial of Mirabeau for intelligence with the enemy. He would certainly deprecate Mirabeau's statement that the Germans are better soldiers than the French. Nor would he favour Mirabeau's appeal to the German people to " regard the standard of Brandenburg as the standard of your liberty". But Mirabeau, as Dr. Gooch remarks, " hated Austria (he might have phrased this differently as ' hated Catholicism and Austria ') more than he loved Prussia". Never-the-less, a twentieth century Frenchman would surely shudder to see this in black and white in Mirabeau's entrancing French : " Citizens of Germany, whatever your station, listen to a foreigner who reveres you because you form a great, wise, enlightened nation, less corrupted than most other peoples, as little inclined by your character as happily incapable by your constitution of subjugating or even of ravaging Europe " (p. 115).

On Bismarck Dr. Gooch has much to say. Two men created Prussia : the *alte Fritz*, Frederick the Great, whose work came largely to ruin under his incompetent successors and the onslaught of revolutionary France ; and Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor. Estimates of Bismarck must vary, from lofty appreciation to the deepest censure. To some, he is perhaps the most constructive figure of his century ; to others, he is the evil genius of Germany and indeed of Europe. His gospel of " blood and iron " has ended in his country's " tears and ashes ". Yet it is impossible to withhold all admiration for Bismarck's work. He was ruthless and determined ; would not hesitate to wage war, though he was no apostle of war and no mere militarist. Aggressiveness he blended with restraint. He took no territory from Austria after 1866, and the ancient enmity between Austria and Prussia was soon transformed into an alliance that lasted forty years. He was personally opposed to the annexation of Lorraine in 1871. From 1871 he could claim to have done more than any other statesman to maintain peace in Europe. He allied his country with Austria, sought friendly relations with Russia in the *Dreikaiserbund* and his secret Reinsurance Treaty, and hoped always to remain on good terms with England. That his policy was one of *Realpolitik* and had nothing to do with ethics and idealism, is true enough ; and though he was a good Prussian, he was no good European. " The weakness of the ' realists ' " writes Dr. Gooch, " —and Bismarck was the

greatest of the tribe—is that they tend to think more of immediate than of ultimate returns." Perhaps the most fundamental criticism of Bismarck is to be found here. Successful as was his policy, on the grounds of *Realpolitik*, it was bound to come eventually to grief in the hands of successors who lacked, as inevitably they must have lacked, his intelligence and genius. The remark of Maximilian Harden is a telling comment upon this inevitability: "When Bismarck went, France was isolated; when Holstein went (in 1906), it was Germany" (p. 497).

Mention has been made of Holstein. Dr. Gooch devotes more than one-fifth of his more than five hundred pages to a study of this remarkable man, who dominated the German Foreign Office for thirty years after the retirement of Bismarck, and indeed even in the Iron Chancellor's time had occupied a unique position. In 1876 the elder Prince Bülow informed his son, Bernhard, later Foreign Minister and Chancellor, that he had intended to send him to the German Embassy in Paris but that the plan had been frustrated by Holstein. "Who is Holstein?" asked the younger Bülow. His father answered: "Who is Holstein? That is not so easy to answer. He came as a raw Attaché to Bismarck in St. Petersburg. Since then he has been to our great man what Père Joseph was to Richelieu."

How Holstein managed to keep his position, without public responsibility and yet with the threads of German foreign policy in his hands, remains a mystery. All agree that he had an outstanding knowledge and a great brain, but almost everyone who had contact with him found him spiteful and extremely difficult. Schweinitz, Ambassador in St. Petersburg, called him "an eccentric . . . .with the spirit and character of a hunchback" (p. 411); and he later complained to Caprivi, the Chancellor, that "a personage not quite right in his head had too much influence in the Foreign Office" (p. 426); Spring Rice, the British Ambassador, dubbed him "the underground intriguer of the Foreign Office," who was using all his influence against Britain (p. 438); Prince Alexander Hohenlohe, who acted as secretary to his father, the Chancellor, wrote that Holstein "had a passion for power and a horror of its appearance. He was like a spider, sitting in a dark corner and watching its victims. He had learned from his great master to hate implacably" (p. 439). On the death of Bismarck, Bülow, then Foreign Minister and Holstein's immediate chief, declared that Holstein "seemed to me like some malignant wolf who ought to be behind bars and not roaming at large"; also that he "resembled a watchdog who guards the house against robbers, but with whom one can never be sure that he will not bite his master in the legs" (p. 449); the Emperor William II spoke of him as "full of brains and full of hallucinations, who sometimes makes the Wilhelmstrasse madder than it is already" (p. 445).

One further picture is given in the advice tendered to Bülow in 1900, on his appointment as Chancellor, by the Kaiser:—

"I cautioned him against Holstein. (Holstein) was endowed with great ability and a phenomenal memory. He could make or mar the career of all the young diplomats. At times he was the *Spiritus Rector* both of the Foreign Office and of foreign policy. The worst of it was that he evaded all official responsibility. He preferred to work in the dark. He declined every responsible post, though many were open to him. For long I tried to make his acquaintance. I invited him to meals, but he declined every time. Only once did he condescend to dine with me in the Foreign Office, where he appeared in morning coat and explained that he had no dress suit. His memoranda, though clever, were often as ambiguous as the Delphic oracle. This powerful influence, often exerted behind the back of the officials, seemed to me dangerous. It often happened, especially in the Richthofen era, that when I advised an Ambassador to discuss a question with the Foreign Minister, I received the reply: 'J'en parlerai avec mon ami Holstein.' Thus he

controlled a large part of foreign policy. He listened to the Chancellor, but what the Kaiser thought or said was a matter of indifference to him. If success was achieved, it was claimed by the Foreign Office ; if not, it was put down to the impulsive young ruler. For long he seemed to Bülow indispensable, but at length the pressure that this sinister man exerted on everyone became intolerable " (pp. 453-4).

An extraordinary picture, and an extraordinary man. These extracts may perhaps show that some of Dr. Gooch's chapters have the fascination of court and chancellery intrigue, if others have the earnestness of political theory.

J. M.

## Biography and Autobiography

*EMILY, DUCHESS OF LEINSTER*, 1731—1814. By Brian FitzGerald. London : Staples. 1949. 15s.

HERE is a biography in which the past comes to life, a biography which combines authenticity, vividness and charm. The writer at once establishes continuity of time by opening with a reminiscence which mitigates our sense of remoteness. Mr. FitzGerald's grandfather, the third Duke of Leinster, takes shape before us, wearing a chimney-pot hat and a frock coat ; and that Duke came of age within the life-time of *his* grandmother Emily, Duchess of Leinster. But it is not only thus that the passage of time is bridged. Biography is nothing without background. Mr. FitzGerald conveys background with deft mastery, either by wide sweeps of the brush or by a succession of minute strokes which imperceptibly give us not only the actual scene, but the atmosphere of the period. His method is largely concentric. With Lady Emily as his centre, he describes a circle :—

" Her life, which ended in the year of Napoleon's abdication, had begun in the days of patched cheeks and full-bottomed wigs ; of sedan chairs and glass coaches ; when Handel was composing his operas, Pope was writing at Twickenham, and Swift was Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin ; and when Wren's great dome and glittering spires had hardly risen above the masts of the Thames. George II was King of England ; Louis XV reigned in Paris ; and the Jacobites were yet to make their last desperate attempt to overthrow the Constitution that had been instituted by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. But the Whig ascendancy was firmly established. In England principles of toleration, respect for personal liberty, and the doctrine that all power was a trust for the people prevailed ; and these mighty benefits were now ready for export abroad—to America ; to France—where already, thanks to Voltaire and Rousseau, a great stirring up of the mind was going on ; and to Ireland. Such was the England, such was the world, into which Emily, Duchess of Leinster, was born in the year 1731."

There is rich material in the gossip and in the letters of an age. These have been brilliantly utilised in the present biography. The difficulties inherent in the subject are not confined to the integration of the social and political aspects of the contemporary scene. The personality of the Duchess of Leinster is by no means as simple as may appear. It combines elements not easy to reconcile or to interpret. A biographer with less intuition and tact might have forced some estimate upon us by a deliberate placing of emphasis. Mr. FitzGerald wisely maintains an even balance, since he knows that human behaviour, though it may appear contradictory, is in fact consistent with the intrinsic character.

To Irish people Lady Emily is known chiefly as the mother of Lord Edward FitzGerald ; yet the story of her life does not prepare us for tragedy. Sir Horace Walpole gives us our first picture of her when, at the age of ten, she is the queen of Sir Thomas Robinson's ball and appears " in great majesty from behind a vast

bouquet ". In the year 1747, when she is fifteen years (and four months), she is married to James, Earl of Kildare. Thereafter, until her husband's death in 1773, life flows on quietly. She is generally at Carton, surrounded by her children, on whom she lavishes a wealth of affection. From her letters, which have the charm of familiar conversation, we gain the impression of an entirely feminine and loving woman who finds a mellow happiness in the thousand domestic details which absorb her fully. She sits at her writing desk pouring out an animated stream of information about her husband and children. Little Caroline grows mightily pretty and poor William ugly. Lord Kildare has had rheumatism, but is well again. Through the open window, her eyes rest on another source of felicity, and she interjects: " Did I ever tell you my passion for spotted cows? I believe not. You have no notion what a delightful collection of them I have got in a very short time, which indeed is owing to my dear Lord Kildare; who, ever since I took this fancy into my head, has bought me every pretty cow he saw. It is really charming to see them grazing on the lawn." Well might her husband address her as " My dear lovely Soul " ! Her life is as varied as she wishes to make it. She likes to read (*Tom Jones, La Reine Christine,* Yorrick's *Sermons*); she revels in loo (" I loose five and six guis. continually "); she enjoys private theatricals (*The Beggars Opera* was acted at Carton). She takes her place in the fashionable life of Dublin; and goes at intervals to London, where her beauty and amiability draw sincere admiration even from such an acidulated doyen as Horace Walpole.

Lady Emily had grown rather fat, but was as lovely as ever, when her husband died in 1773. They had been married for twenty-six years and Emily had borne nineteen FitzGerald children. Twelve of these children were still living when Emily became a widow. She was then aged forty-two. One might suppose that the pattern of her life was then formed. It was. From that pattern of domestic happiness the principal figure was now missing. If the pattern were to be complete once more, Lady Emily should marry again. She did so, within a year of the Duke of Leinster's death. She married one Mr. Ogilvie, the tutor of her younger children. He was a lanky, scowling, uncouth Scot, apparently of undistinguished origin. This marriage forces one to revise any superficial view of Lady Emily's personality.

It would be mistaken to suppose that Lady Emily was a woman of passive amiability. She had a warm heart and was incapable of harbouring resentment; she had always enough magnanimity to bridge family quarrels and to forgive; but she was emphatically a woman of spirit, who could quietly choose her own path and follow it in spite of opposition. This aspect of her character became apparent when, immediately after her marriage to Leinster, she visited her sister Caroline who had been ignored by her family because of her runaway marriage to Henry Fox. However, the most striking evidence of Lady Emily's diverse traits, and of her inner resources, is to be found in her extraordinary second marriage. It was as if, with gentle hands, she had cast an atomic bomb into the midst of her family and of society. For months before the actual ceremony, it was rumoured that Lady Emily was already married. This rumour arose precisely when her eldest daughter was to marry Lord Bellamont. It caused their estrangement from her; and it shocked society on either side of the Channel. Since Lady Emily and Ogilvie were not then married, there was still time to draw back; but Lady Emily, kind and delightful as ever, was not deterred. And again, much later, there is proof of her quiet determination. When Ogilvie, then her husband, took it upon himself to condemn Lord Edward's political views, Lady Emily was unruffled: " Mr. Ogilvie might raise his bushy eyebrows and rub his bony hands together, as he declared that Edward had taken ' the licentious examples of unculti-

vated savages ' as his models, ' in defiance of religion, morality and sentiment '. Mr. Ogilvie might scowl as he pitied his dearest Emily's ' blindness ' when she wrote to him that Edward was not to be blamed. (Not to be blamed, indeed ! Her son was ' destroying himself in every respect and blasting by his conduct the most promising hopes of his opening youth ' !) All Emily said was : ' As all Edward's intentions are good, I must be satisfied ; tho' I wish him more moderate '."

Lady Emily did not reach Ireland in time to be with this illustrious son when he was dying. Her grief was deep and silent. As the years went by, this sorrow, like many others which had no power to embitter her, was unobtrusively canalised into the onward flow of her life. Emily did not forget. She accepted. Mother and grandmother of many children, she enclosed in her love a complex web of human relationships and interests. In 1814 she died at the age of eighty-three. Written three years earlier, these words of Lady Charlotte Bury give us a last picture of the Duchess of Leinster : " What a magnificent old lady ! There is something in great age when accompanied by sweetness and dignity that has a peculiar charm for me. I feel inclined to honour such persons, if only for having met and outbraved the storms of life which they must have passed through ".

The best tribute we can offer to Mr. FitzGerald is that his biography has the peculiar vitality and charm of Lady Emily herself.

B. G. MACCARTHY

*LAUGHTER IN THE NEXT ROOM.* By Osbert Sitwell. London : Macmillan. 1949. 18s.

EXCEPT for a few salvoes to be fired in a supplementary volume by way of a *feu de joie* or *Last Post, Laughter in the Next Room* concludes Osbert Sitwell's autobiography, *Left Hand, Right Hand.* Its curious title derives from palmistry and, as its readers are aware, the writer's hand-prints made end-papers for the earlier volumes. They are retained in the present work, but are now occluded by extracts from *Who's Who,* each lengthier than its predecessor. Such entries are premonitory obituaries. Here they confirm the impression of this autobiography as the 4-vol. *Hic Jacet* of a dead epoch.

A more sumptuous pall has rarely been stretched by a writer over his generation—and not over his generation only but over one kind of civilisation. But the pall is not oppressive nor its elaborate texture a mere funerary ostentation. It is true that Sir Osbert sees the collapse of the West as a calamitous fact to which nothing comparable has happened since Constantinople fell to the Turks. He assails the ignoble or evil agents of this irretrievable disaster and, in pages of a sombre and indignant eloquence, bitterly resigns himself to its shameful waste. Yet his total effect, arrived at by the assurance which the creative energy of the artist unconsciously and irresistibly brings, is not one of pessimism. Sir Osbert is not wholly stoic ; he has lived sensitively through his material and reacts to it primarily as an artist : nor is he an epicurean and still less a hedonist ; he hates and fights. Like Pascal he finds some solace in opposing a conscious intelligence to the brute force that overwhelms his inheritance, but there is more of Gautier than of Pascal in his belief that " the world could only have been saved—perhaps still can be—through the spirit of man, especially through art, its noblest manifestation ".

Tout passe.-L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité.
Le buste
Survit à la cité.

It is in this sense that, with a sure hand, Sir Osbert engraves the medal which one

day a peasant will turn up from under the soil to discover an imperial inscription. *Left Hand, Right Hand* is designed to illustrate, through the author's career and sensibilities, a family of artists, a background and an age. More comprehensively he defines his task as that of one who in a sunset age, addressing a stranger across a chasm measureless in time, attempts to capture the sum of his days and to transmit to him, by every power he has of evocation, the form and pressure of his age—its absurdities, cruelties, virtues, comic lapses.

Sir Osbert writes neither as a Spengler nor a Toynbee, neither as philosopher or historian, but as an artist who, before he had found his vocation, had lived with soldiers earth-coloured as grubs, amongst the broken stumps, barbed wire and maggoty confusion of Flanders, and then made an unsuccessful attempt to enter Parliament. London and Italy between the wars make the background of his narrative, which begins at the close of the first world war with the air still charged with its hysteria and men's minds stampeding in one direction after another like sheep. The set piece in his first chapter shows the author crossing Trafalgar Square with Diaghilew and Massine on Armistice Day 1918. Crowds, delivered from a nightmare of mud and blood, celebrate their freedom in the manner of a Breughel *kermesse*, but no longer vainglorious as on Mafeking night when first as a child the author saw the God of Herds take charge, his countenance sweaty and alight with riot and slaked rage. The colour deepens even to his disillusioned eyes as the Winged Victory hangs plain in everyone's sight " like a gigantic draggled jackdaw, dangling from the skies as a warning to other marauders ". The God of Herds confronts him again in his attempt to enter public life but less successfully when, his vocation as a writer becoming manifest and imperious, he challenges him with more agile slings and in another field.

Passing to the arts and the craftiness of peace Sir Osbert paints with irony and enthusiasm the miseries and splendours of a life attached to the inkpot, the painful ardours of its novitiate diversified by raids on Philistia and incessantly distracted by incursions from his father, whose astounding personality remains to the close a vortex of perpetual activity and interest. Never since the *Book of Kells* has a zoomorphic ornament like Sir George Sitwell entwined itself with such grotesque advantage into a work of art. The gods of Bloomsbury and their sub-rout supply marginal subjects for the etcher's needle ; and these in their turn give way to the fantastic life of Montegufoni, whose strange destiny it was to shelter the Uffizi masterpieces. There are three or four pages here of sheer beauty in which the author, with consummate artistry, distils from the vats of his Italian experience the essence of Italy ; and this mood of recollected beauty is enhanced rather than disturbed when the author sends wandering through his landscape the imperturbable figure of Henry Moat, the admirable letter-writer of his earlier volumes, another creation whom the shade of Dickens must with envious approval have watched come again to life.

Sir Osbert's comic force and the malice of his leaning graver are exercised with restraint. He slays his enemies with taste and, like the Argive warriors of an opening page, his prose entombs them, still archaically smiling, in chiselled masks of virgin gold. The same reserve leads to other reticences to which we are not, in every case, accustomed when a writer attempts his self-portrait. This autobiography, in spite of a seeming intimacy, remains external. Is it to the advantage of the whole that the core is not touched and that essential questions are left unanswered ? Is this *The Portrait of an Artist* or *The Portrait of a Gentleman* ? Or both ? Adopting an inscription which, I think, used be on another masterpiece : it is, at any rate, a thing truly rare and singular.

C. P. Curran

## CELTICA

*CONTES OSSIANIQUES.* Par Roger Chauviré, Professeur à l'Université Nationale d'Irlande. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1949. pp. 276.

PROFESSOR Chauviré has spent thirty years in Ireland. If we have given this learned friend of our country happiness, he has repaid us a hundred-fold. Surely no courtlier compliment ever was paid our land than when, dedicating his new book to the President of Ireland and Mrs. O Ceallaigh, he makes his own of Haicéad's verse in exile:

*Ins an bhFrainnc im dhúiseacht dom*
*In Eirinn áin im chodladh.*

In 1926 Professor Chauviré published *La Geste de la Branche Rouge*, a brilliant re-telling of the Red Branch cycle of tales, which he described as *l'Iliad irlandaise*, "a document incomparably useful for the study of primitive humanity. Few texts in all literature give so strong an impression of archaism. Homer is probably more ancient in point of time; but the Celts were more primitive than the Greeks . . . . and this fact so compensated time that the Ulster saga, with a sort of brutal innocence, a crude naiveté, seems to carry us farther than the Homeric poems into the dawn of the world".

Now the Professor has devoted a companion volume, a little larger, to the Ossianic tales, with which he has grouped the tales of Clann Tuireann and Clann Lir, prefacing the work with an essay of 41 pages on the Ossianic cycle. The essay, quite apart from its informative value to the general reader overseas, is of high value to every student of Irish letters; for it digests the ripest knowledge of the subject.

Early in this century Mac Neill (in his introduction to *Duanaire Finn*) gave us an ingenious study of the Fenian tales and poems, developing the theory that they represent the hero-lore of a subject people—a racial substratum of the nation. Two years later, introducing a collection of early texts, *Fianaigecht*, Kuno Meyer controverted Mac Neill's hypothesis and presented the cycle as a legitimate part of Gaelic tradition, emanating from the institution of a warrior caste. Since then, Professor Gerard Murphy has gone farther than either of these scholars in textual investigation and has applied the witness of folklore. He has uncovered the mythological foundation of the tales and has given them a new significance. Professor Murphy's researches have been at Professor Chauviré's disposal, and the essay before us summarises the work of the three scholars. Yet more: the recent discursus by Dr. T. F. O'Rahilly, which from another approach confirms Professor Murphy's conclusions, is called in evidence.

So much for the significance of the cycle as a repository of ancient lore, even more instructive than the Ulster cycle in regard to racial beginnings; but what of the tales and lays and lyrics as pure literature? For most of us, the more erudite part of Professor Chauviré's work is excelled in interest by the fresh vividness which his translation lends to the ten-times familiar stories. After all, whatever philological or mythological secrets lie hidden in the cycle, the great lay, or ballad, of the Chase on Slieve Gullion, the magnificent tale of Oisín's sojourn in the Land of Youth, the well-constructed novel (for such it is) of the Flight of Diarmuid and Gráinne, the piteous narrative of the Battle of Gowra, and the jewel-like tales and fables that are strung together in that spacious mediaeval collection, The Colloquy of the Ancients—these, and the fine lyrical laments and nature pieces which were made between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries: all these are a literature that we delight in for its beauty and romance and lovely diction.

This literature never was shaped into an artistic unit in Gaelic times. If it had been, we would have possessed an epic like the Odyssey or *Heimskringla*. Surely it existed, as such a unit, in the imagination of Céitinn and other *literati*. When Lady Gregory, aided by Dr. Hyde, assembled the Fenian tales and lays, and selected those which could be fitted into a pattern of the rise of the hero-band, the adventures, the feud that broke the unity, the tragic fall—and tastefully discarded those tales which were too fantastically supernatural or too shapeless to fall into the design—she gave us in *Gods and Fighting Men* the first and only fully satisfactory Ossianic epic. Yeats hailed the work as a book to set beside *Morte d'Arthur*; and it still goes into new editions, bought by one knows not whom. Most Irish people seem to dislike the Kiltartanese style. Certainly, one feels that the work would achieve a classic standard if, instead of a mannered English version, we had been given a conflation and adaptation of the original texts in the Early Modern Irish of the lays.

Professor Chauviré's book invites comparison with Lady Gregory's. It is more strictly textual than hers. He does not admit, as she did, waifs like some tale that Yeats heard or imagined about " Caoilte's ever-burning hair ". On the other hand, he does not knit his material into such satisfying epic shape. As to style, it is strange but true that we feel nearer to the Gaelic in the French than in the Kiltartanese. It might be expected that the French language was too highly civilised for a primitive and pastoral theme : that was said of the Professor's version of the Red Branch legend. Let it be remembered, however, that French is the language of the Song of Roland and that most of the Fenian texts belong to the same heroic period as the *Chanson*. Then it is less surprising to find the very soul of Ossianic verse reincarnate, when we read Oisín's song of the things that Fionn most loved :

*Et voici ce que Finn aimait le plus au monde :*
*Le fracas de l'assaut, la gaité du banquet,*
*L'aboi des chiens sonnant au fond du val sauvage,*
*Le chant du merle noir,*
*Les galets et leur bruit de meule sur la plage*
*Sous la nef de combat qu'on halait à la mer,*
*Le vent qui siffle à l'aube entre les fers de lance*
*Et la voix de ses trois poètes magiciens.*

A. de B.

*LEABHAR SHEAIN Í CHONAILL* : Sgéalta agus Seanchas ó Íbh Ráthach. Séamus Ó Duilearga do sgríobh agus do chuir i n-eagar. With a Summary in English. Baile Atha Cliath : An Cumann le Béaloideas Éireann. 1949. 12s. 6d. net.

HERE is surely the most monumental work devoted to Irish folklore that ever was published—over 500 large pages of tales and *seanchas* from Iveragh, edited and expounded with precise scholarship.

Seán Dônal O Conaill, a farmer and fisherman who lived some 14 miles beyond Caherciveen and died as an old man in 1931, must have been one of the finest shanachies of modern times. (His portrait, which his friend Professor Delargy prints as frontispiece, shews rare strength of character and intellect.) The two hundred and more tales, poems, prayers, children's rhymes and miscellaneous fragments of tradition, which he dictated are all marked with tautness of style and delicate taste ; and they range so widely over the field of folklore that most of Aarne-Thompson's catalogue of folk-types could be illustrated from this volume alone. We gain an idea of the immense copiousness of tradition in old Munster, when we consider that one shanachie could tell so much.

Some of the tales are long, romantic and racy of the Gaelic world, like those which were recorded in the last century by Larminie, Curtin and Hyde. Others, such as " The Three Questions ", " The Fool and the Priest ", " The Three Brothers in the Lonely Island ", are local variants of world-wide themes. Then we find a folk version of *Feis Tighe Chonáin*, which illustrates the passing of literary tales into oral currency and popular emendation. Yet again, Carol O Daly and Egan O Rahilly appear in legendary tales which exemplify the universal custom of fathering adventures and sayings on notabilities. (Are there not apocryphal sayings of Dr. Johnson, Dean Swift and of G. B. Shaw?). In " A Tale of the Tithe-War ", we are told how O Conaill, *an Counsiléir Óg*, loosed the distrained cattle of the countryside from the pound and so ended tithe-gathering in the parish of Prior.

These discursive notes may convey some notion of the richness of curious interest in this volume. The editorial matter is of equal value with the texts. One marvels at the erudition of the Dublin scholar who links every tale of Iveragh with a chain of related tales that sometimes reaches to the world's end. The bibliography amounts to an exhaustive catalogue of Celtic folklore. This is a book that will put Ireland (and the editor) in the forefront of European folklore science.

A. de B.

## EDUCATION

*THE CRISIS IN THE UNIVERSITY*. By Sir Walter Moberly. London: S.C.M. Press. 1949. 15s. net.

THE author of this very readable book has been for many years Chairman of the University Grants Committee, a beneficent institution to which we have no parallel in Ireland. Its function is to act as an intermediary between the State and the Universities, and to ensure by a continuous process of consultation and advice that the best possible use is made of the very generous endowments which have been for a long time, and especially since the war, such an enviable feature of University education in Great Britain. There can be few men better qualified to write on Universities than Sir Walter Moberly, and every page of this book demonstrates that his qualifications extend far beyond financial knowledge and administrative experience. Indeed what is most striking all through is his lively interest in the strictly intellectual and spiritual side of the University's function.

This is explained by the fact that he is also a very active member of the Student Christian Movement, which has in the past few years been devoting much attention to the sad plight of religion in the great English seats of learning. As he explains in his Preface, this book is actually an attempt at a re-statement of views expressed by members of the Movement in a series of twelve pamphlets. " Any value the book may have " he says " will be due to its expressing the converging thought of many minds." In a certain sense, therefore, the book is a manifesto which represents the ideals of English Protestant University men, their criticisms of the existing system and their aspirations towards a better future.

" The crisis in the University," says the book's first sentence, " reflects the crisis in the world and its pervading sense of insecurity." Especially since the arrival of the atomic bomb, we are all rather too crisis-conscious, and prone at times to forget that after all insecurity is a condition of our mortal state. It might even be suggested that a certain degree of crisis is a test of the success of the University, and that civilisation itself is always more or less in danger. This was the case in the very hey-day of Victorian prosperity, which two great wars have made seem like a lost paradise to some. Newman and Nietzsche, Kierkegaard and Solovyev, are all

witnesses to the insecurity of the nineteenth century. It is a possible criticism of Sir Walter's book that he rather overstates the crisis of the present. The aspect of that crisis which most interests him is the decay of Christianity in England. Fifty years ago, when much more could have been done to avert it, that decay was greeted as an item in the credit account of indefinite progress by leaders of English thought—among them more than one Bishop of the Establishment. To-day it is the progress from decay to something near collapse that makes the atomic bomb the danger it is.

Another criticism that might be offered is that Sir Walter is characteristically English in both his diagnosis of what is wrong and his suggestions for a cure. A step beyond the collapse of English Christianity there lies the menace of Communism, which for the past quarter of a century has been eroding the edges of the liberal intellectual post-Christian position. Communism has by now its active champions on the staff of every English University. Their special slogan is " scientific humanism," which Sir Walter treats first in his list of " spurious remedies " for the crisis. He treats of it, in a singularly polite and almost muffled fashion, without once revealing that it is only a name for one aspect of the Communist theory of tyranny. Actually it is of course the existence and the ubiquity of the Communist threat, superimposed on the widespread loss of Christian faith and morals, that makes the crisis more urgent now than formerly. The suggestion that " Scientific humanism," as advocated by Professors Bernal and Hogben, is a remedy for a crisis mainly caused by the Communists, is like suggesting a stronger kind of cocktail as a cure for alcoholism.

Other " spurious remedies " listed by Sir Walter are classical humanism and a return to the Christian tradition. Few will disagree with him that the first of these deserves the epithet " spurious," though there may be doubts as to the fairness of linking Dr. Hutchins of Chicago with Dr. Gilbert Murray as exponents of it. The suggestion that " Humanism," classical or scientific, can cure the world's ills amounts to the assertion that " Humanism " can take the place of religion, and is really more a symptom than a cure.

When we come to the second remedy, however, we cannot help feeling that in condemning a return to the Christian tradition as " spurious " Sir Walter is loading the dice without exactly meaning to. After all, it is in effect his own remedy, except that he presents it in a peculiarly English form. He does not, we believe, do anything like justice in this respect to Newman, who would no more demand the forcible re-Christianisation of Oxford in present circumstances than would Sir Walter himself, and whose prescription in his own time was not so dissimilar from Sir Walter's now, except that it partook a good deal less of Sir Walter's unwillingness to call a spade a spade and of his pathetic tendency to believe in a kind of " reunion all round ".

From the Catholic standpoint therefore, while there is much that is sound in Sir Walter's book, its chief recommendations, in spite of frequent references to Maritain, will not be viewed with excessive enthusiasm. All interested in University education will find much profit in his strictures on too much lecturing, too many examinations, and overloaded curricula, and in his demand for closer contact between student and professor and more tutorial work. They will, if they are Christians, sympathise also with his wish that they should in some degree strive to be " lay theologians". But they will find his chapter on the place of Theology in a University to be very mixed in its quality and very inferior to Newman's. His book as a whole is a serious and stimulating contribution to a discussion which still leaves much to be said and needs to be brought to a sharper focus.

M. T.

## History

*WINDOW ON MAYNOOTH.* By Denis Meehan. Drawings by Donal Murphy. Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds. 1949. Pp. 182+11 Plates. 12s. 6d.

It is generally recognised that as a people we are careless about records, both in making them and in preserving them. In consequence we have often to be content with little better than legends when we seek information about our great men or our great institutions. Maynooth College is a national institution very dear to the hearts of the Irish people (as seen by their wonderful response to its appeal for help recently), and it has done good work for Catholicism in lands outside Ireland, so that the preservation of its records is a matter of wide interest. In our day the best way to preserve is to publish. Little historical matter has appeared about Maynooth since Healy's excellent *Centenary Record* half a century ago, and as changes are now impending in decrepit buildings and as there is danger of a " once gone—twice forgotten " fate befalling them, we must be grateful to Vincent Canon Hanly of Sligo who inspired Father Meehan to place on record something of their story.

*Window on Maynooth* is more and less than a history, it is a historical guide to Maynooth and its material fabric. The author meets you outside the College Gate, takes you by the hand so to speak, and conducts you from place to place, stopping here to show you this and bringing you there to show you that, all the while entertaining you with observation and story and enchanting you with graphic or urbane phrase. He mingles knowledge with affection, and there is often mocking humour and the sceptic's smile as, quick to find human interest and quiet fun in places and things, yet taking the statements of his sources with a notable grain of salt, he lets you into secrets about College practices and happenings or delightingly shares with you some discovery he has made about the shadowy or shady past.

Father Meehan's main concern is the College buildings; but when helpful he gives their backgrounds in space and time, and when necessary he is topical. Thus, in recalling the links between the Geraldines and Maynooth and in describing the old Geraldine Castle at the College Gate, he rightly calls attention to the way the former seat of the Leinster family is being neglected, and he points out that this is by no means the fault of the College authorities, as visitors too often think. (To-day, ruin is piling upon ruin and the ivy is tearing the vitals out of one of Ireland's most historic possessions; but nothing can be done about it by public or College authority because the ruin is still the property of the Duke of Leinster). Reference is also made to St. Mary's College, Maynooth, founded by the Ninth Earl of Kildare, and it is described as an " academic precursor " of Maynooth. This gives a wrong impression. St. Mary's was not a college in the modern sense, but a chantry.

Clearly, Father Meehan has gone to a great deal of trouble to get his information. He quarried in unpublished records and other disjointed sources, and he has a word to say about them in a tail-piece to his book.

One of his sources was the Maynooth Pamphlets. They invariably belong to the great pamphlet period of Irish history, the story of which has still to be written. The largest set of these pamphlets is in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, the prodigious Haliday collection; but the Maynooth collection is also valuable since it contains many publications not to be found in the library in Dawson Street. I note that, in the list which Father Meehan gives of Maynooth pamphlets bearing on his subject, there are several lacunae which must be due to losses—or what is the same thing in a large library, " mislays "—in recent years. This " disappearance " of pamphlets from the Maynooth collection in the last fifteen years emphasizes

the need for staffing the College Library in the future in a less parsimonious manner than paucity of funds permitted in the past. It also indicates that some of our national carelessness in keeping records is to be traced to lack of adequate organization.

An important source of Maynooth's domestic history that was inaccessible to Father Meehan, and which now appears completely lost, is the diary of Dr. McCarthy, formerly Vice-President of Maynooth College. As a Maynooth source-book, this diary was much more valuable than Dr. Murray's, being less personal and more objective. It was a narrative of events as they occurred, and by an extrovert, not an introvert as Dr. Murray was in the years he wrote his diary. If this diary had been accessible to Father Meehan, he would have had something definite to tell us about Maynooth's " Ghost Room " (which intrigues nearly every visitor) and an explanation of the room, Number Two Top Rhetoric, which was the subject of a resolution by the Trustees in 1860. For Dr. McCarthy in his diary told how he attended the last victim of Number Two Top Rhetoric. The victim was a Freshman. In those days Freshmen came up to College a week before term for their matriculation tests. This Freshman occupied Number Two Top Rhetoric during the examination period in September 1860 ; but when term began he got —(in the usual way by lot)—and occupied another quite different room. Hearing that he had spent a week in a room where a previous student had died by his own hand, it preyed on his mind, and he ascended to Number Two Top Rhetoric, attempted to end his life there as the previous unfortunate had done, failed, jumped out of the window, and was taken to the infirmary where he was attended by Dr. McCarthy before he died of the injuries he had received. Dr. McCarthy urged the Trustees to take action, and the result was the resolution in the *Trustees' Journal* which reads : " October 23rd, 1860. The President be authorised to convert room No. 2 on the top corridor of Rhetoric House into an Oratory of St. Joseph and to fit up an oratory of St. Aloysius in the prayer hall of the Junior Students."

In tracing the careers and varied functions of Maynooth buildings down the decades, Father Meehan tries to make use of Warburton's *Dublin*, and invariably lands in difficulties when he does so. This was to be expected. Researchers in Irish history have often issued warnings about Warburton, whose errors are so gross that he confuses the events of different centuries. According to a fine scholar, the late Seumas O Casaide, the only reliable parts of Warburton are those that were supplied by a member of the Royal Dublin Society staff at the beginning of the last century, a lecturer in science named Lynch. It is unlikely that Lynch supplied the " information " which Warburton published about Maynooth. In further editions of *Window on Maynooth* the author might do well to excise the Warburton passages.

It is to be hoped that Father Meehan will have further moments of curiosity so that, in future editions of his book, the view will be extended to embrace a number of items omitted in the present volume. Sometimes there are visitors to the College whose interest in the cultural does not exclude the agricultural. In a future edition minor errors might also be corrected, such as statements about the gas house still functioning and the museum having an annual grant for acquiring exhibits. It is to be hoped that older generations who may think Father Meehan insensitive about terms like " Roman Catholic " or that he has been hasty in jumping to conclusions about old customs, or who know that some of his conjectures are wide of the mark, will communicate to him their information for use in a later publication. The richness and fine texture of a civilisation along with the purity of its traditions depend on the preservation of records relating to its institution. Father Meehan has done his share. His book is handsomely produced. P.M.L.

*THE UNITY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY.* By John Bowle. London: Jonathan Cape. 1948. 18s. net.

*THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE NATIONS.* By Nicholas Mansergh. London: Royal Institute for International Affairs. 1948. 8s. 6d. net.

*PAX BRITANNICA.* By F. A. Voigt. London: Constable. 1949. 25s. net.

*CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.* By F. W. Pick. Oxford: Pen-in-Hand Publishing Co. 1949. 10s. 6d. net.

AN apology is due from the reviewer to both authors and publishers of the two first books on the above list. The delay in reviewing them renders him almost worthy of Dr. Johnson's rebuke to Lord Chesterfield. It has been perhaps less unkind to Mr. Bowle, whose book is likely to have permanent value; in Dr. Mansergh's case the deferment is grievous, because his work, dealing as it does with a rapidly changing political situation, is inevitably more subject to time's ravages.

Mr. Bowle, who had already won favourable opinion with his *Western Political Thought*, deserves high credit for his achievement in the work here under belated review. It is an ambitious enterprise to seek to cover all European history in less than three hundred and fifty pages. Mr. Bowle treads in the dangerous footsteps of Fisher, but he is saved from the danger by having a sound and valuable thesis, which is fully indicated by his title. His purpose is constructive as well as descriptive: to show that in spite of present weaknesses and dangers there is inherent in the European tradition a great power of recovery and of new creation, which has manifested itself again and again in times of almost equal stress.

The plan of his book is in itself attractive, with its special chapters on "The Genius of Hellas," "The Christian Revolution," "Byzantium and Eastern Europe," "The Reformation and The Nation State". Inevitably, the treatment of these and similar interesting themes is summary. There is, for example, only a paragraph on Alexander the Great, a half-paragraph on Julius Caesar, and a page on Charlemagne. It is perhaps inevitable too that a not inadequate estimate of the influence of Christianity should be prefaced by a description of its Founder as "the greatest religious genius in history". Mr. Bowle has a robust and judicious historical temper and the knowledge to give colour to his generalisations by means of significant detail. His book should be certain of a warm welcome from general reader and student alike.

Dr. Mansergh's book is a series of studies, some delivered as lectures, on aspects of British Commonwealth relations internal and external. Three of them deal with Asia and two with Ireland. Though there have been great changes both here and in India since they were written, they will be found valuable even by those of us in whom the Commonwealth idea never excited much enthusiasm. There are few better balanced or cooler commentators on current history than Dr. Mansergh. Even when he seems to be merely summarising familiar facts he is worth reading with close attention: every sentence has been thought over, and what looks like a simple statement is often found to have behind it a shrewd judgment. The essay on "Political and Social Forces in Ireland 1916–48," which is the seventh in this book, was delivered as a lecture in New Delhi, and its original hearers were fortunate in being given so clear and accurate a picture of a distant and complex entity. The only criticism we should offer on Dr. Mansergh's singularly impartial view of Ireland is that, like most English and Anglo-Irish observers, he is inclined to get the social part of the picture a little askew—perhaps for the very reason he emphasises, that the glare of our nationalism is such as to blind natives and foreigners alike to all social realities. On one point at any rate we are pretty sure—that "social services" have not, and are not likely ever to have, the exact kind of influence here that they have in England.

The last essay in the book, " Eire's Relationship with the Commonwealth " is even better worth study, again because of its shrewd impartiality. Dr. Mansergh is of opinion that even in 1921 Dominion Home Rule was not the right solution for Ireland, and he emphasises—what is seldom adverted to—the damage its conferment has done to the Commonwealth as a whole by loosening and weakening its structure. Since he wrote, the Gordian Knot has been cut, but the problem of our relations with England has assuredly not been finally solved. Dr. Mansergh's views on Partition are equally penetrating, even if, like everybody, he sees no rapid progress towards a settlement. This is definitely one of a quite small number of books which the student of both British Commonwealth and Irish affairs should study.

Mr. F. A. Voigt was editor of *The Nineteenth Century and After* from 1938 to 1947. His editorial writing was distinguished by a sanity and fairness of view most refreshing in a period of hectic confusion. This book, a sequel to *Unto Caesar*, gives his views at more length and in greater detail than was possible in a periodical. It runs to over five hundred pages, and its three central chapters are very informative summaries and discussions of recent history in Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece. It will not be easy for the English reader to find anywhere more conveniently set forth the real story of the treatment of Poland by the Soviets, the rise of Tito with the help of deluded English partisans, or the horror of the continuing Communist attempt to enslave Greece. The sixth chapter, entitled " God—Caesar " is an analysis of Cominform policy considered as a design for the establishment of a universal Servile State.

Dr. Pick has not been at all well served by his printer. He is a historian and lecturer on international relations, and though these essays are light in quality they deserve a better treatment than they have received. The first, on the methods used in writing contemporary history, is quite informative to the general reader by reason of its criticism of publications like *Die Grosse Politik der Europaeischen Kabinette* and its rivals. Two others deal with Stresemann and with the famous plot of 1944 against Hitler. Dr. Pick has specialised on Baltic questions and his brief account of the University of Tartu (Dorpat), culminating in the rise and fall of the Estonian Republic, has a tragic interest. Finally he includes a very friendly and pleasant account of Dr. Douglas Hyde as President of Ireland, which he visited in 1938.

M. T.

*LES ILES BRITANNIQUES ET LA REVOLUTION FRANCAISE* (1789—1803). Par Jules Dechamps. Bruxelles : La Renaissance du Livre. 1949. pp. 245.

THE immediate effect of the French Revolution on Europe was profound and far-reaching. There are still not a few who, agreeing with Edmund Burke's description of it as " the mother of all evil ", believe that its doctrines and underlying ideas are still active, and who see its partial fruitage in that sinister Power which in our day menaces western civilisation from the east. Its outbreak in 1789, however, aroused popular enthusiasm among lovers of liberty everywhere, and this book of M. Dechamps traces its immediate repercussions in Britain and Ireland. In the larger English towns democratic and revolutionary clubs under various names were established, of which he gives a detailed account. In resolutions they expressed admiration for the new France, sent congratulatory addresses to Paris and carried on correspondence with French Jacobins. Trees of liberty were planted in many places, and an active propaganda began for parliamentary and other reforms. One immediate effect was a schism in the Whig Party when some of its leaders, like

Fox and Sheridan, became enthusiasts for the Revolution. The former hailed it as the greatest and best event that happened in the world, and he was one of the first to maintain the right of every nation to choose its own form of government. Others of the Party, like Edmund Burke who described it as " a putrid carcase ", denounced its doctrines as false and subversive.

In his account of the clash of opinions M. Dechamps would seem to exaggerate the nature and significance of the support given in England to the Revolution and its doctrines, when the fact was that from the first England, like the other European Powers, looked to what they could gain from the crisis in France. There were not a few like Pitt who, jealous of France as a trade rival, welcomed the Revolution with joy, hoping it would weaken that country. With others sympathy was superficial and largely emotional. This was revealed within a few years when their zeal cooled and disappeared on their realising that France had emerged triumphantly from anarchy and was displaying the spirit of conquest. It was especially seen when, with the threat of invasion by Napoleon, all the old prejudices towards France were revived.

Too much importance, one thinks, is attributed by M. Dechamps to the influence of the Revolution on some of the contemporary English poets. Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, it is true, hailed its coming as the dawn of the millennium and, when England declared war on the French Republic, the two former confessed to a feeling of grief and shame. But their enthusiasm, rooted largely in emotion and sentiment, was short-lived—there existed, as Lecky says, a deep chasm between their revolutionary sentiments and any wish to subvert the British Constitution.

The chapter of the book entitled *Le Soulèvement irlandais* will appeal particularly to Irish readers. In a previous chapter the author gives an adequate synopsis of the state of Ireland—social, political and religious—in the eighteenth century. With detachment and real insight he exposes the grievances and tyrannies from which the country suffered. It is little cause for surprise that the upheaval in France was welcomed with enthusiasm in a country smarting under many wrongs. M. Dechamps might have quoted the striking words of his compatriot the historian Gustave de Beaumont: " The Revolution agitated all nations, but there was none to which the impulse was communicated so quickly and faithfully as Ireland ". One of its immediate effects was the birth of a nationalistic concept of patriotism which, materialising then and since in various popular movements, has profoundly affected Ireland. M. Dechamps describes the national resurgence as represented in the United Irish Society, the opening of negotiations between it and France, and the fate of the expeditions sent from that country to help the Insurrection. And though the Insurrection was ruthlessly crushed, it is interesting to find, not many years afterwards, that one of the arguments against the proposal to confine Napoleon in England rather than in Saint Helena was the condition of Ireland.

This book gives a comprehensive and authoritative view of the reactions of Revolutionary France in these islands. It is well documented and is embellished with portraits and rare caricatures of several notabilities. R. H.

## POETRY AND PAINTING

*POETRY OF THE PRESENT.* Compiled by Geoffrey Grigson. London: Phoenix House. 1949. 10s. 6d.

ENGLISH poetry between the first and second World Wars has been poetry of rapid technical changes and of changing attitudes to current social and political movements. Behind both one detected a common feeling of instability:

> Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world . . .

So Yeats was writing in the 1920's. This anthology, which contains the work of no poet born before 1904, repeats the same theme in many forms, with the more immediate cry of a generation trapped between two wars. Eliot's vision of the falling towers of Europe hung above it. There was time for quiet desperation or for enjoyment of the incidentals, but the Goths were swarming down the hill and the poets were uneasily awaiting the summons of one form or another of totalitarianism :

> Our prerogatives as men
> Will be cancelled who knows when ;
> So I drink your health before
> The gun-butt raps upon the door.
> So Mac Neice to Auden, before the deluge.

It was easy then to be complacent about the New Decadence, to count how often in the younger poets' work the rat's foot stirred the glass and the broken springs in the cellar. Then in 1939 poets like John Bayliss, who had seen

> war like a wasp under a warm apple
> Arise and sting the unwary

were proved right. The blinds of propaganda came down with a final click in the year in which Yeats died ;

> Intellectual disgrace
> Stares from every human face
> And the seas of pity lie
> Locked and frozen in each eye . . .

These lines from Auden's poem in memory of Yeats mark the arrival of the storm which both had forecast. Where the poets differed from most people who had seen what was coming was in their concentration upon humanity's sufferings and in their speculations upon what lay beyond.

It is only natural that many of these poems are bitter. Norman Cameron, whose poems after Rimbaud are probably the bitterest, lashes poor people in church as if they were to blame for it all. Bernard Spencer strikes a more direct blow in his poem about money :

> Hearing the drunken roars of Money from down the street,
> ' What's to become of us ? ' the people in bed would cry :
> ' And oh, the thought strikes chill ;
> what's to become of the world if Money should suddenly die ? '

And Derek Stanford echoes James Joyce in the conclusion of a finely-drawn poem :

> the queen who beckons from the tapestry
> invents no myth : nightmare is history.

In several of these poems bitterness affects form, in the ironic parody which follows the method of Eliot's parody of Goldsmith in *The Waste Land*. C. Day Lewis (' Oh hush thee, my baby, Thy cradle's in pawn '), Auden and MacNeice contribute poems of this type, which now deserves a long rest. Both Auden and G. S. Fraser unintentionally get the same effect in imitations of Yeats : Auden in a poem with the refrain

> cried the cripples to the silent statue,
> The six beggared cripples

And Fraser in an ironic lamentation that romantic Scotland's dead and gone. Is his diagnosis as inaccurate as that of his model ?

The contribution of the small Irish contingent is good. MacNeice and Lewis provide some of the best poems in the book. John Hewitt and W. R. Rodgers seem to me to be too much under the influence of MacNeice still ; but Hewitt's

poem *Conacre* states a personal problem without the genteel pessimism, ingrown or posed, which is so frequent elsewhere :

I sleep above a flagged resounding street,
and men from shops deliver all I eat . . .
My father also. Last of all my kin
to live beneath a thatch and not within
tall walls was one whose birth goes back from now
well over a hundred years. The scythe and plough
are alien to my grasp. I cannot tell
the weather's chance by glance or oracle . . .

while Rodgers in *Ireland* makes up for the use of MacNeice's ' props ', the nets of memory and the squelching bog, with a fine close :

Spelga, Pulgarve and Cove—all these names lie
Silently in my grass-grown memory,
Each one bright and steady as a frog's eye ;
But touch it and it leaps, leaps like a bead
Of mercury that breaks and scatters
Suddenly in a thousand shining strings
And running spools and ever-dwindling rings
Around the mind's bowl . . . . .

The anthologist, Mr. Grigson, has done a reasonably good job of selection. He seems to have the curious illusion, however, that there are no poets worth quoting in five-sixths of Ireland. ' There may be other books by other poets of whom all of us are ignorant ', he says in his introduction. There may ; but not all of us are quite as ignorant as all that. R. McH.

*SAINT CATHERINE IN TUSCAN PAINTING.* By George Kaftal. Oxford : Blackfriars. 1949. 10s. 6d.

St. Catherine of Siena was fortunate in point of portraiture. She lived in the fourteenth century when the Gothic spirit sought to express, as Dr. Schamoni recently said, the saint's virtue rather than the saint. But she lived in Siena and late enough in the century to profit iconographically from the Renaissance cult of personality and of the individualised portrait. She was most fortunate in having as her fellow-citizen, disciple and correspondent the Sienese painter Andrea Vanni. Very shortly after her death he painted on the walls of S. Domenico the fresco—a work of peculiar beauty—which has stamped on later painting the impression of her " spare, worn and elegant face, its small regular features ".

Dr. Kaftal, it is true, discussing this much restored fresco, finds it anachronistic to apply the idea of personal portraiture to a sacred image of this period. Its particular date in the century, however, and the personal relation in which Andrea Vanni stood to his subject weigh in favour of a comparatively faithful delineation. After her canonisation pictures of her multiplied abundantly in Italy —Fra Angelico, Fra Bartolomeo, Ghirlandaio, Pinturicchio and Sasso Ferrato commemorated one or another incident in her history, but the greater number of these Italian pictures come from members of the Sienese school.

The present monograph is the second in the series which Dr. Kaftal is devoting to Dominican saints as represented in early Tuscan painting. It follows the same plan as his study of St. Dominic. There are thirty-nine plates, six of them iconographical, the others following the history of the saint. Relevant passages from Ambrosio Catarino's *Life* precede each of these latter illustrations, in an English text by John Fen, Priest, published at Louvain in 1609. An ample critical apparatus accompanies the plates. C. P. C.

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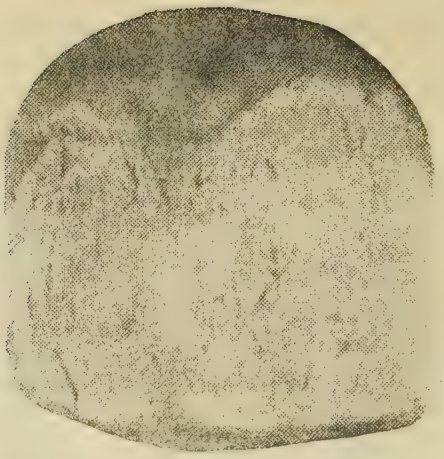

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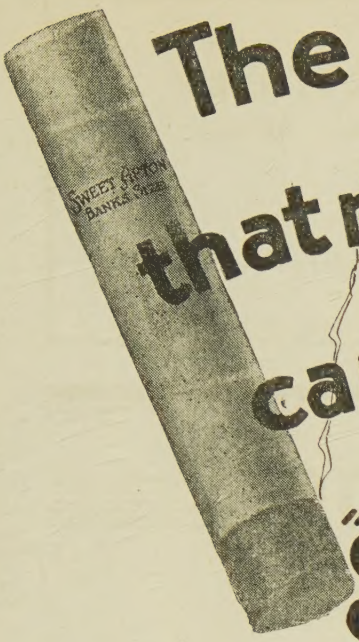


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